Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

ICCR LIBRARY
E16547

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

INDIAN COUNCIL
FOR
CULTURAL RELATIONS
NEW DELHI

Accession No. _____

Call No. _____

V-07

901.920954/GHO
16547
GHOSH, OROON
KUMAR -

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

DATE DUE

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the date last stamped below.

M.B.S.

V-10

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

THE CHANGING INDIAN CIVILIZATION

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

THE CHANGING INDIAN CIVILIZATION

(A PERSPECTIVE ON INDIA)

Sa vidyā ya vimuktaye
— That is knowledge which liberates.

ICCR LIBRARY
E16547

OROON KUMAR GHOSH,
F.R.A.S. (LONDON)
MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL
SOCIETY FOR THE COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF CIVILIZATIONS

INDIA

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

MINERVA ASSOCIATES (PUBLICATIONS) PVT. LTD.
7-B Lake Place, Calcutta-700 029 : INDIA

V-96

909.0954
GHO
16547

© Oroon Kumar Ghosh, 1976
First Published : July 1976
ISBN : 0-88386-502-5

PRINTED IN INDIA BY TAPAN KUMAR BARIK FROM AJANTA PRINTERS, 4/2 RAMMOHAN ROY ROAD, CALCUTTA-700 009 AND PUBLISHED BY T. K. MUKHERJEE FOR AND ON BEHALF OF MINERVA ASSOCIATES (PUBLICATIONS) PVT. LTD., 7-B LAKE PLACE, CALCUTTA-700 029, INDIA.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

TO

THE YOUTH OF INDIA

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

PREFACE

THIS BOOK deals with change in Indian civilization, right from the earliest times to the present day, against the world back-drop. During the last two hundred years we have become Quasi-Bourgeois and Quasi-Modern, but the layer is very thin and unevenly spread out, more or less concentrated in urban areas. The author holds that whole-hog modernization is necessary, even for survival, and that in any case we have no option in the matter. World forces will compel us to modernise. Modernisation is good also, for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. But modernization does not mean only industrialization; a good deal of cultural, ideological and religious transformation is also necessary. Otherwise we will never be able to stand on our own legs, but will continuously have to imitate others, in science and technology as well as in other fields. Europe went through six reformations and revolutions, spread out over 400 years—Renaissance, Reformation, Scientific Revolution, Humanism, Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution. We will have to do likewise, and telescope them within a short span of time. The process started in India also about 200 years ago, but has been very slow.

The author believes that a comparative study of civilizations will help us in the transformations. Comparative civilization (or civilizationology) was taken recourse to by Ram Mohan Roy, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Swami Vivekananda and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, among others, to remove prejudices and guide us to an honourable future. The author believes in the Stage of Civilization theory; in each Stage having its own Consciousness and Values and Institutions, (in all functional fields—Science and Technology, Economics, Politics, Administration, Military Affairs, Social Relations, Ideology, the Arts, Architecture, Literature) based on its Dominant Economics; in Stages cutting across national boundaries, the national flavour being provided by "folk elements" like ethnic mix,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

language, dwelling types, clothes material and styles, culinary traditions, certain manners, customs, etiquette etc. which are relatively permanent ; in Stage and other changes being brought about by Progressives fighting against Conservatives ; in the possibility of changes being planned or induced in the desired direction by the operation of certain Key Forces, potential or actual—geography, natural resources, geopolitics or external forces, internal class relations and weight of tradition, which constitute "Configurational Dynamics". He believes that a study of comparative civilization leads us to the understanding of the principles of cultural change and development, of universal application, an understanding which gives us perspective and a sense of direction.

The author has studied and thought over such matters systematically for over twenty years. Concepts and concrete facts are intertwined in this book and foreign parallels and illustrations recur, wherever necessary. The author uses comparative civilization to dispel myths about the Past and Present, to assess the Present realistically, and to suggest guide lines for the future, against the world background, and the convergence of societies.

Part I of the book, 'General Considerations', occupies about 3 per cent of its volume. About half of this deals with the principles of cultural change and development and with identifying societies in the postulated Ten Stages of Civilization. From Chapter 3 we come to India, and never leave her till the end. Chapters 1 and 2 can be skipped if so desired, as concrete foreign illustrations and parallels are interspersed throughout the book, giving body to the hypotheses of these two chapters.

Part II deals with 'The Era of Primitive Similarity'—from food-gatherers to the Aryans. The 'primitive similarity' is the similarity with other such stages, all at a comparatively primitive level, all over the world. As we are basically of Adivasi descent (Chapter 11), this part is doubly important to us—because of the immense legacies left by this Era, and because the contributions are the achievements of our forefathers. This part occupies about thirteen per cent of the book.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Part III—The Era of Theocratic Divergence—processes the usual meat of Indian history—Indus Valley Civilization, Aryo-Hindus, Buddhists, Indo-Muslims, Marathas, Sikhs—but, I believe, in quite a different way from the ordinary curry. This part occupies about thirty six per cent of the book.

Parts I—III, consisting about half the book, is dealt with in this volume. Volume II, which has also been completed, and is expected to be out shortly, will deal with the interaction with West Europe and with problems of accelerating India's pace to modernisation.

The book is written in easy language so that all interested people can readily understand it. It is meant for all thoughtful people, and especially for the youth.

The author has been a government servant, through force of circumstances rather than choice—in pre-1947 India such painful difficulties existed much more than they do now. Still, an explanation as to how he could write such a book and find the time for it is pertinent although it means striking a personal note. The author had always been interested in such matters. Being an odd man out in government service, positions of authority and influence were not his. This caused disappointment but was a blessing in disguise. He was freed from long attendance on ministers, senior bureaucrats etc. outside office hours, and this gave him time for his studies and reflections, which became more and more passionate with time. Tours in many places, as in over a hundred in India with the States Reorganisation Commission (1954-55), and in various parts of the world, gave body to his perceptions. The fact that for the most part of his life he could not sleep more than five hours or so helped immensely. The cumulative result was that he could, on the average, spend five to six hours a day on civilizational studies, of which this is the first fruit.

The author is indebted to many men and women for various insights, in addition to his own. But he would like to thank specially the colleagues who helped him, and all of them with ungrudging enthusiasm, with secretarial work outside their normal working hours—Sardar

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Jasbeer Singh, Shri Visharad Kumar, Mrs Chandra Kumbnani (nee Sadhwani), Shri P. Govindan, Shri M. G. Narayan, Mrs Anita D'Souza and Miss Rita D'Mello. Miss D'Mello's questionings forced a certain modification in style, for the better.

Last, but not least, I would like to record my cordial thanks to Shri Sushil Mukherjea of Minerva Associates (Publications) Pvt. Ltd., who has been so very eager to see this book out in print.

Calcutta
15th June, 1976.

Oroon Kumar Ghosh

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part I : General Considerations

Introductory : The Scope of the Enquiry 3
Chapter 1 The Principles of Cultural Change .. 5
Chapter 2 Identifying societies in the Ten Stages .. 12
Chapter 3 Periodization of Indian history 19
Chapter 4 The Geopolitical Background 25

Part II : The Era of Primitive Similarity

Chapter 5 Stage 1—
Food Gatherers and Primitive Hunters .. 33
Chapter 6 Stage 2—
Advanced Hunters 43
Chapter 7 Stage 3—
Matrifocal Agriculturists 50
Chapter 8 Stage 4—
Early Technologists 78
Chapter 9 Stage 5—
Warrior Nomads 85
Chapter 10 The Aryan Trail 121
Chapter 11 Race and Language 125
Chapter 12 The Era of Primitive Similarity 147

Part III : The Era of Theocratic Divergence

Chapter 13 Stage 6—
The Theo-Technocrats—the initial
Brahmans 153
Chapter 14 Formation of the Aryo-Indian Ruling Complex in the Interregnum or Inter-Stage Period (1800 B.C.—1000 B.C.) .. 176
Chapter 15 Stage 7A—
The Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic
(1000 B. C. to 1200 A. D.) 184
Chapter 16 New Castes 279

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Chapter 17 Stage 7B—
Interaction with Islam : Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic 287

Chapter 18 The Deccan Sultanates and the Vijaynagar Assertion 391

Chapter 19 The Maratha Assertion 398

Chapter 20 Stage 7C—
The Sikh Theo-Aristocratic 409

Chapter 21 Comparison of Basic Attitudes of the three Indian Theo-Aristocratic Societies .. 421

Chapter 22 Stage 8A—
Theo-Mercantile Buddhist Society .. 434

REFERENCES 469

INDEX 490

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

PART ONE

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

INTRODUCTORY: THE SCOPE OF THE ENQUIRY

AFTER OVER a quarter of a century of independence there is still a good deal of dissatisfaction and criticism. Where have the dreams of the early fifties gone? Is the criticism all to be dismissed? Are we a nation of critics only and not doers? A calm survey, even a qualitative and impressionistic one, will show that much has been done; in spite of frightening population increases, people have been fed; industrial production is rapidly increasing; more people are getting better, and better opportunities of all kinds. But the obverse side of the medal is also true—there is corruption, nepotism, favouritism, poverty, grim poverty. And the questions are shouted out from all quarters—why cannot we modernise ourselves quickly enough, why is India lagging behind other nations in almost everything, why do we not have original thinkers, why do we not treat human beings as human beings?

In short, why are we not scientific enough, not humanistic enough, not efficient enough, not democratic enough? Some would go still further back and ask, why have we stagnated for centuries while other nations have forged ahead? Perhaps when we find an answer to this big question we will get the solutions to our present maladies. How to get the answer?

All the criticisms, the questionings, arise from a comparative evaluation—impressionistic and qualitative though this may be—of situations in this nation and in others. Therefore, a cool, calm, systematic, scientific, comparative study of civilizations is necessary to reach conclusions which can then be remorselessly put into operation. The results of such a study cannot, of course, be analysed on a world-scale in a book dealing with India. That has to be left for another book. But they are

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

stated, as hypotheses, in the chapter on Principles of Cultural Change. These are then applied to India and foreign parallels examined to find out whether she is a unique case in the world or whether the same ground rules apply. For obviously, in the answer to this question lies our future destiny as a people.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 1

THE PRINCIPLES OF CULTURAL CHANGE

How To Compare Civilizations

In studying human civilizations in a comparative way we find that three factors are involved—area to be considered, the time span, and the range of activities. The most convenient area unit, to start with at least, is the nation; the time span has to be from the earliest times to the present day; and the range of activities to cover the whole spectrum of human life. Considering this last item philosophically, and in a somewhat abstract fashion, we can derive the following concepts:

Man in Society—politics, government, economics, social relations, military matters, etc.
Man in Nature—science and technology.
Man in the Universe—religion, philosophy, etc.
The Pleasures of Man—art, literature, architecture, music, etc.

One can then do some sort of charting, for each nation, or a group of culturally related nations, taking the centuries as one co-ordinate and the various activities, grouped under the above four heads—as the other. If one does so and compares the charts for different national, or groups of national units then certain conclusions emerge. These are stated below as conclusions, and hypotheses, to be tested for India and other countries.

Permanent, Semi-Permanent and Non-Permanent Elements of Civilizations

One finds that in each civilization there are permanent, semi-permanent and non-permanent elements. One set of permanent components are based on geography. Thus, in a warm climate cotton or a light material has to be worn; in cooler ones, wool, leather etc. The kind of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

food one eats is also based on availability, originally conditioned by geography. Thus, rice and fish in Japan; a lot of fish in Scandinavian countries; pork in China; wheat and mutton and lamb in the Middle East and so on. Human geography deals with such culture-traits, one of the earliest pioneers being Vidal de la Blache. Another permanent element is based on language, like literature, although its form and contents change.

The semi-permanent or folk elements are generally relics of the primitive past, usually non-literate customs and manners, arts and crafts, idiosyncrasies and characteristics of ethnic groups, cuisine, folk lore and folk myths, the origins of which have often been lost. This is a fascinating field of research in which many eminent people have engaged themselves, like Sir James Frazer (*The Golden Bough*), W. G. Sumner (*Folkways*), Julius E. Lips (*The Origin of Things*) etc. To give illustrations of the semi-permanent elements—folk art and crafts, like those of say, Madhubani in Bihar, or Murshidabad *sarees* or *himroo* ware of Marathwada or Mysore ivory—all the areas of the world have such special characteristics; cuisine peculiar to different areas—Bengali *macher jhol* (fish curry) and *rasagolla*, South Indian *iddli, dosa and sambar*, Goanese *vindaloo*, Mughlai *tandoori* chicken and *nan;* differing folk tales and legends; differing traditional characteristics of peoples—the loquacious Bengali, the sturdy Jat farmer, the austere and intellectual Tamilian brahman, the sharpwitted Marwari and Gujarati baniya and so on. All these culture elements are "semi-permanent" in the sense that it is seen, reading past accounts, that they can, and do change. Megasthenes in the India of the 3rd century B.C. was struck by the honesty, frugality and integrity of the people—doors of houses could be left open without any fear of articles being stolen, a state of things completely different from what it is today. Thus, Yuan Chwang, or Hsuan Tsang, in the 7th century A.D., found the people of South Bengal (Tamralipti) to be "rude" in their customs, but "courageous",[1] a completely different impression from that held of the Bengali *bhadralok* of today; similarly, Roman *pietas* and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

gravitas were very different from later Italian stereotype characteristics. This second group of culture-traits is also semi-permanent in the sense that many local arts and crafts are being ousted by the machine, folk-lore and folk-legends are being forgotten in the flooding of the country-side and of small towns by Machine Age urban concepts; and even in cuisine being invaded by "outlandish" dishes and food items in an increasingly cosmopolitan world.

The non-permanent elements constitute what may be called "High Civilization", which change. Thus, monarchy or republic; the bow and arrow or the gun or the atom bomb; matriarchy or patriarchy; joint family or the "nuclear" family; *ayurveda* or "Western" medicine; *karma* or scientific agnosticism; the *veena* or the violin; the *khayal* or pop music; *neera* or Coca Cola; Tulsidas' *Ramayana* or Gulshan Nanda or Earle Stanley Gardiner. It is the contention of the author that the changeable High Civilization is governed by certain Principles of Cultural Change and Development. These are set down below as hypotheses, illustrated for the world in five following chapters, then applied to India so that lessons can be drawn.

Principles of Cultural Change and Development

1. Civilizations have permanent, semi-permanent and non-permanent elements.
2. Permanent Elements are geography-based, like the food available, material of clothing etc.; or language-based, like literature, although its form and contents change.
3. The Semi-Permanent or Folk Elements are relics of the primitive, mostly non-literate past, like arts and crafts, customs and manners, cuisine, ethnic or group idiosyncrasies and characteristics etc., which have gone deep down and become all-pervasive.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

4. Non-permanent Elements pertain to the literate High Civilization—politics, administration, military affairs, social relations, science and technology, scriptures, literature, architecture, etc.
5. The Values and Institutions of a High Civilization constitute a system, related to its Socio-Economic development and with its Prevailing Ethos (a truth first enunciated by the 18th century French philosopher, Robert Jacques Turgot).
6. There are Stages of Civilization, depending on Socio-Economic Development (a concept first propounded by the Edinburgh professor, Adam Ferguson, in 1767, and borrowed by the American researcher, L.H. Morgan, and from Morgan by Karl Marx). There have been the following stages so far:

   A. *Era of Primitive Similarity*

      1. Food-gathering and Primitive Hunting. 2. Advanced or Big Game Hunting. 3. Matrifocal Agriculture. 4. Early Technology. 5. Pastoral Nomadism and Fighting.

   B. *Era of Theocratic Divergence*

      6. Theo-Technocracy ("River Valley Civilization" of priest-engineers). 7. Theo-Aristocracy ("Feudal"). 8. Theo-Mercantiledom.

   C. *Era of Convergence*

      9. Rational-Mercantiledom ("Bourgeois"). 10. Scientific-Democracy. (a) Spontaneous ("Capitalist"). (b) Induced ("Socialist"/"Communist").

7. The Values and Institutions of High Civilizations, therefore, move with the stage of Socio-Economic Development, cutting across national and other space barriers.
8. During the last two stages, 9 and 10, nations have been converging, and the non-permanent elements have become more important than the permanent and semi-permanent ones.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

9. The World Convergence Process is irresistible.
10. Socio-Economic Stages of Development, and therefore Values and Institutions, can overlap within an area; for instance, in a nation.
11. Stages of Development can be jumped.
12. Change from one stage to another takes place through an Interplay of Five Key Factors or Forces—

    (a) geographical environment (b) natural resources (c) geopolitics/external forces (d) class forces (e) weight of tradition. This interplay can be termed "Configurational Dynamics".
13. These factors are operated by Progressives and Conservatives, who can also consciously induce change.
14. Development in each stage has four identifiable phases or periods:

    1. Early; 2. Middle; 3. Zenith; 4. Late.
15. Folk Civilization and High Civilization continuously interact, giving variety even when the Socio-Economic Stage of Development of different nations, areas etc. is the same.

Methods of Study

The study of any society must systematically include the following areas:—

1. Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life. 2. Origin. 3. Development, spread and Duration—Five-Force or Configurational Analysis (Principle 12 above). 4. Prevailing Ethos. 5. Basic Attitudes/Values. 6. Values and Institutions: (a) perspective view, (b) Phase development, (c) Encounter Analysis, where various societies interact, (d) Progressives *v* Conservatives syndrome, where enough data is available.

7. Integrated Nature of the High Civilization Complex—Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life—Prevailing

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Ethos—Basic Attitudes—Values and Institutions. 8. Legacies. 9. Foreign Parallels.

Where societies interact, the following stages, arising from *a priori* reasoning, come in sequence :—

> Conquest—Resistance (C-R) ; Propagation—Assimilation (P-A) ; Reconciliation—Reconciliation (R-R) ; Absorption—Appropriation (A-A) ; Transmutation (T).

The syndrome, as between Conquerors and Conquered, would thus be CPRAT-RARAT to give a shorthand description. Here, the words 'Conqueror', 'Conquered' are used in a very wide sense, comprising both violent and non-violent conflicts, and covering psychic as well as material aspects.

When one society among the two intersecting ones is militarily stronger, but not to such an extent as to destroy the weaker one, the following sequence can be discerned :

Empire	New Empire
Breakdown	Breakdown

This is the result of the author's researches, but it is not illustrated at this point in this book.

The Inter-Relations Theorem postulates the interlinking of the Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life, the Prevailing Ethos, Basic Attitudes and Values and Institutions. Values and Institutions can be classified, following the analysis at the beginning of this chapter, under the following functional heads :

1. Science and Technology ; 2. Economics ; 3. Family and Society ; 4. Politics, Administration, Military Affairs ; 5. Ideology ; 6. Culture.

"Basic Attitudes", from *a priori* reasoning, can be categorised under the functional heads as follows :

Science and Technology

1. Thinking. 2. Attitude to Teachers.

Economics

3. Working.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Family and Society

4. Relations with Fellow Men. 5. Man and Woman. 6. Hierarchy.

Politics, Administration, Military Affairs

7. Duty sense. 8. Fighting spirit. 9. "In-group"/ "Out-group".

Ideology

10. Epistemology (How knowledge is derived). 11. Metaphysics (Beyond the seen world). 12. Theology (about the Divine). 13. Eschatology (about the end of things). 14. Ethics.

Culture

15. Gregariousness. 16. Eating and Drinking. 17. Attitude to Fine Arts, Literature etc. 18. Attitude to the Past.

The various methods and techniques mentioned above are not illustrated in this chapter. Their use will become apparent with their application in this book.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 2

IDENTIFYING SOCIETIES IN THE TEN STAGES

The First Five Stages

The First stage, that of Food Gatherers and Primitive Hunters, is classified archaeologically as Paleolithic, and broken down, tool-wise, as follows:[1]

(i) Hand axe cultures; (ii) Flake tool cultures; (iii) Chopping tool cultures.

The first probably started in East Africa, the second on the Northern ice sheets, and the third in East/South East Asia. From these foci (one or many in each case) the cultures spread. Food-gathering and primitive hunting cultures still exist all over the world and it can perhaps be safely assumed that similar cultures in the past exhibited the same traits as their successor ones, which anthropologists have described. If the pre-hominids are taken, the stage started about 600,000 years ago; while if we start with Neanderthal man and some early species of *homo sapiens,* about 100,000 years ago. This stage will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

The Advanced or Big Game Hunting Culture consists of, archaeologically, the "blade and burin" Upper Paleolithic cultures (associated with "Cave Art") as well as the microlithic ones. They started about 35,000 years ago. They were concentrated mainly in West Asia, North Africa, Eurasia to the Urals, and a portion of North East Asia. In Africa, India, and South East Asia, earlier traditions of food-gatherers persisted, and only some infiltration of big-game hunters came from outside.[2] Big Game Hunting Cultures were still in existence in the 19th century and were studied by social anthropologists. This stage will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

Stage 3, Matrifocal Agriculture is, purely by accident, the "neolithic" of the archaeologists. This started in the 8th millennium B.C. in West Asia. There was another centre, so far as the Old World goes, somewhere in the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

South China/South East Asia/North East India area, but this apparently started much later. The societies coming under this stage were peasant village cultures, loosely connected with each other physically, but culturally homogeneous in neighbouring tracts. In these matrilineal cultures the role of the sexes was the reverse of what it is today. In all these societies women were economically and socially more important than the men, and this was symbolised by the worship of mother-goddesses, the male gods being only subordinate partners. Matrilineal societies existed till yesterday, and there are plenty of references to them in literature. They occupy three fat volumes of Robert Briffault's *The Mothers*. This stage will be dealt with in Chapter 7.

Archaeology points to metallurgy having originated in one place, in the region of North Eastern Iran and beyond on both sides, from whence it spread with itinerant smiths.[3] This is the group of "Early Technologists". They were, everywhere, in a microscopic minority. They spread, in thin layers, both among the tillers, as well as in societies ruled by warriors. The first type of society they seemed to have controlled, as priest-wizards, through monopolistic technical knowledge, charisma, and credulity-exploitation; while in the second they formed small intermediate groups. It is they who ushered in the technical revolutions known as the chalcolithic, bronze and iron ages, which started from the 7th millennium B.C.. Chapter 8 will deal with the Early Technologists.

From advanced hunter in West Asia man branched off in three directions. One was that of neolithic farmer. Another, apparently followed by more adventurous ones, was that of mountain miners on the fringes of agricultural society, to the north of it. Still further north there were grasslands which became the home of pastoral nomads. The horse was apparently tamed in the 4th millennium B.C., and was yoked to spoked wheel chariots round about 1900-1700 B.C. This gave the nomads irresistible fighting power against horseless societies. The nomad's life was unstable, dependent on good grazing ground for his flocks, and on the absence of droughts.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Various groups and tribes fought each other for pastures and flocks. Armed guards to protect the flocks were necessary. And this gave rise to a soldiery. Trade had to supplement subsistence from pastoralism, and this was also congenial to the adventurous nomad. He came, through trade, to have metals, and metal weapons were wrought by his smiths. In bad times raids and robbery made up for lack of good pastures and it soon became a sport and a habit. War, and the handling of large masses became second nature to the nomad war-leader, who became the warrior-aristocrat. Soon the nomads fell upon their more settled brothers. Horse-riding (15th century B.C.) and improvements in weaponry gave them further military strength against sedate societies. The Arabian steppes were another great reservoir of virile and warlike nomadic peoples. The horse was brought in, however, only after Indo-Europeans (Kassites, Hittites, Mitanni etc.) overran West Asia about 1900-1700 B.C. It slowly spread later on to Europe, by 1000 B.C.,[4] but only much later, about 1800 years after, to Africa.[5] Camel breeding began in Arabia round about 1500 B.C., and later this camel culture expanded to Iran and North Africa.

The warrior nomads have died out, but they existed till the 19th century, among others, in the Red Indians, the Kalmuks, and the "Fuzzy-Wuzzy" of Kipling (in the Sudan). The nomad warrior aristocrats fell on agricultural societies in several waves, which will be mentioned in Chapter 9. When they took to the seas they became pirates, like the Vikings.

The dates given are those derived by the radio-carbon method, where a variation of ±150 years is usually assumed. But the further one goes back, the more is the deviation, as cross-check with dendo-chronology apparently indicates.[6] But this does not invalidate the comparative radio-carbon dating differentials. A purely qualitative picture of the first five stages has been given above for help in identification. The essential details will be filled in, in the relevant chapters cited, as part of the "foreign parallels", and the appropriate references given.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Stage 6—Theo-Technocracy

The Theo-Technocracies (or "river valley" civilizations of Gordon Childe, of priest-engineers) were :—

(i) Sumerian (Tigris-Euphrates) from about 3200 B.C., (ii) Indusian, from about 3100 B.C. if the "pre-Harappan" sites are included; (iii) Egyptian (Nile) from about 3100 B.C.; (iv) Chinese (Hwang-ho) from about 2500 B.C.; (v) Peruvian, from about 1200 B.C.; (vi) Mayan, from about 500 B.C.

Stage 7—Theo-Aristocracies ("Feudal")

Eighteen Theo-Aristocratic Civilizations can be identified, including the main Indian and its two variations. They are listed below :

(i) Hittite—25th century B.C. to 9th century B.C.; (ii) Hebrew—21st century B.C. to 2nd century B.C.; (iii) Assyrian—16th century B.C. to 7th century B.C.; (iv) Chinese (Chou-Han)—12th century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.; (v) Spartan—12th century B.C. to 2nd century B.C.; (vi) Aryo-Indian/Hindu—11th century B.C. to 13th century A.D.; (vii) Old Persian—7th century B.C. to 7th century A.D.; (viii) Roman—6th century B.C. to 5th century A.D.; (ix) Ethiopian—3rd century B.C. to 20th century A.D.; (x) South East Asian—1st century A.D. to 20th century A.D.; (xi) Byzantine—4th century A.D. to 15th century A.D.; (xii) Tibetan—3rd century A.D. to 20th century A.D.; (xiii) West European ("Medieval")—5th century A.D. to 19th century A.D.; (xiv) Japanese—6th century A.D. to 18th century A.D.; (xv) Mexican—7th century A.D. to 16th century A.D.; (xvi) Turko-Persian Islamic—11th century A.D. to 19th century A.D.; (xvii) Russian—12th century A.D. to early 20th century A.D.; (xviii) Mongol—12th century A.D. to early 20th century A.D.; (xix) Muslim-Indian—12th century A.D. to 19th century A.D.; (xx) Sikh—15th century A.D. to 19th century A.D.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Stage 8—Theo-Mercantiledom

Twelve Theo-Mercantile societies have been identified, as follows:

(i) Levantine—27th century B.C. to 7th century B.C.; (ii) Cretan—26th century B.C. to 12th century B.C.; (iii) Babylonian—19th century B.C. to 6th century B.C.; (iv) First West European Theo-Mercantile—16th century B.C. to 4th century B.C.; (v) Indian (Buddhist)—8th century B.C. to 8th century A.D.; (vi) Chinese Theo-Mercantile—3rd to 20th century A.D.; (vii) Arabo-Persian Muslim—6th to 5th century A.D.; (viii) West African—7th to 16th century A.D.; (ix) East African—7th to 16th century A.D.; (x) Russian Theo-Mercantile (Kiev Rus)—6th to 15th century A.D.; (xi) Second West European Theo-Mercantile—8th to 17th century A.D.; (xii) First American Civilization (Puritan)—17th to 18th century A.D.

Stage 9—Rational Mercantiledom ("Bourgeois")

We have here four civilizations:

(i) Atheno-Hellenic—8th century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.; (ii) Japanese Rational-Mercantile—14th to 19th century A.D.; (iii) West European Rational-Mercantile—15th to 20th century A.D.; (iv) Second American Civilization—17th to 19th century A.D.; (of Southern "gentlemen" chiefly).

Stage 10—Scientific Democracy

(i) West European—From 17th century A.D.; (ii) Third American—From 17th century A.D.; (iii) Russian—From 17th century A.D.

The Third American is an extension of the West European Scientific-Democratic. The Russian Scientific-Democratic was "induced" by Peter the Great and his successors, including the Soviet leaders, on the West European-American models. These civilizations have spread to other quarters of the globe.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Overlapping of Stages in a Society

Stages can overlap within a society. A few illustrations are given. Thus, in Greece, the Theo-Aristocratic (Spartan, 12th century B.C. to 2nd century B.C.) and the Rational-Mercantile (Atheno-Hellenic, 8th century B.C. to 1st century A.D.) ; the West European Theo-Aristocratic ("Medieval", 5th century A.D. to 19th century A.D.); Second Theo-Mercantile (8th century A.D. to 19th century A.D.), Rational Mercantile (15th century A.D. to 20th century A.D.), and Scientific-Democratic (17th century A.D. onwards) ; the Russian Theo-Aristocratic ("Medieval", 12th century A.D. to early 20th century A.D.), Rational-Mercantile (18th-20th century A.D.) and Scientific-Democratic (17th century A.D. onwards) ; Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile Muslim (6th century A.D. to 15th century A.D.) and Turko-Persian Theo-Aristocratic Muslim (11th century A.D. to 19th century A.D.) ; Japanese Theo-Aristocratic (6th century A.D. to 18th century A.D.) and Japanese Rational-Mercantile (14th century A.D. to 19th century A.D.) ; and American Theo-Mercantile (17th-18th century A.D.), Rational Mercantile (17th-19th century A.D.) and Scientific-Democratic (from the 17th century A.D.).

Stage jumping

Some instances of stage jumping are given here. The Levantine Theo-Mercantile (Stage 8) arose out of stages 3 (matrifocal agriculture) and 4 (early technology). The Cretan Theo-Mercantile (Stage 8) also arose from Stages 3 and 4. Both these serviced West Asia and Egypt, particularly the latter, as regards trade. The Babylonian grew from a Stage 5 (Warrior Nomad) people, the Amorites, capturing a Stage 6 (Theocratic) Society, the Sumerian. The First West European Theo-Mercantile (16th century B.C. to 4th century B.C.) arose from Stages 4 (Early Technology) and 5 (Warrior Aristocracy) along the Amber Route from the Baltic to the Mediterranean to service Mycenae and Egypt. The West and East African Theo-Mercantile Societies jumped straight from Stage 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists) to Stage 8 (Theo-Mercantile),

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

stimulated by Arab traders. West Europe, to her great benefit, skipped Stage 6, that of despotic Theo-Technocracy ("River Valley Civilization"). In Russia the Second Theo-Mercantile ("Renaissance-Reformation") was so weak that it may be said that she skipped it.

Stages may, therefore, be jumped, due to the inducement of other societies, or other causes, and may be forced or voluntary. This is like dropping a bomb on an ice-field, when it practically skips the water stage and becomes vapour at once.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 3

PERIODIZATION OF INDIAN HISTORY

THE PERIODIZATION widely prevalent today—Hindu-Muslim-British—was introduced by James Mill in his "The History of British India" (1817). This, thus, corresponded with the West European "Ancient-Medieval-Modern" periodization. The "Hindu" period was "Ancient", like the Greek and the Roman, full of glories perhaps, but really irrelevant to modern life and, therefore, to be swept away. Mill proposed such brushing away of ancient rubbish through social legislation. The "Muslim" was equated with "Medieval" barbarism and backwardness. And the "Modern" with the British. This view gave British administrators, as the historian, Romila Thapar,[1] has pointed out, a sense of direction. It was their duty to reveal Hindu and Muslim weaknesses, legislate for change, and implement reforms so as to convert traditional Indian society into a progressive one. Christian Lassen in his *Indische Althertumskunde* 4 vols. (1847-61), applied the Hegelian pattern to Mill's three periods—Hindu thesis, Muslim anti-thesis, and Christian (i.e. British) synthesis. As a result of all this Indian society came to be seen as conservative, traditional, unchanging since time immemorial. Partly at least for this reason stress was laid on political and dynastic history. The first historians applying modern techniques of critical appraisal were Europeans, and in the background of Mill's ideas and vision, their works supported "colonialism". And as the British were ruling India their views were implanted on the Indian mind. A typical colonial historian, of many excellences, but twisted vision, was Vincent Smith. His yardstick was the Greek achievement, against which he found Hindu India deficient. At the same time he was a hero-worshipper and admired Ashoka and Akbar. All else in Indian history was the warring of states, misrule, anarchy, dark

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

age. Smith implied that apart from being modernisers, the British were somehow the inheritors of Ashoka and and Akbar also, and with their withdrawal, again chaos, calamity and the dark ages will return to India. Smith also concentrated, apart from dynasties and politics, on religion, and on the large agrarian kingdoms of North India, neglecting the south.

In opposition to such writers as Vincent Smith a "national" or "anti-colonial" school grew up. But they adopted many of the ideas of the "colonial" school—India's unchangingness, strange uniqueness, religiosity, importance of dynasties and so of regions, and a comparative lack of interest in the South (or its vigorous reaffirmation, if one was a South Indian). Only their interpretation of events carried a national-political flavour. Among such historians were H.C. Raychaudhuri, K.P. Jayswal, R.K. Mookerjee, A.S. Altekar etc. Almost everywhere they tried to project India as a unified country and stressed the "glorious Indian past". This came to be associated with the Hindus, and the ills of India were ascribed directly or by implication, first to Muslim invasion and rule, and then to the British. Hence, it was held that as soon as the British left India everything would be restored to its original purity, glory and grandeur.

As nothing of the sort has happened (the "colonial" school has also been proved wrong), we should be humble and re-examine all our premises and assumptions, using the results of the latest researches.

On the Integral-Stage Theory we first have the Food-Gatherers and Primitive Hunters. They are to be seen all over India for over at least 25,000 years, and are still extant in some parts of the country. This Stage came into existence apparently by external stimuli and migration from outside—chopping and flake tools from China and South-East Asia, hand-axes from Africa, and advanced flake-tools from Central Asia.

The Second Stage—Advanced Hunters—apparently owed its origin ultimately to East Africa. It started over 15,000 years ago, but was apparently mainly confined initially to Gujarat and Central India.

901.920954
GHO
16547

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Stage Three, Matrifocal Agriculture, spread out all over India from the 4th millennium B.C., and is still extant, in a submerged form as regards certain elements, in our villages. It came from Iran, *via* Afghanistan and Baluchistan, first to North-West India. After about 1400 B.C. peasant-village cultures spread from this region to the Gangetic Valley, under the leadership of Bronze-Age Aryans and Indusian ("Harappan") priests. A megalithic, rice-using, stone-shouldered hoe culture came to North East India from the South China—South East Asia area from the 3rd millennium B.C. and spread up the Gangetic Valley. Later, a Dravidian-speaking influx came from South India to this area, with certain peasant village traditions. In the South itself, south of the Godavari, a neolithic (matrifocal-agriculturist) tradition grew up from about 2000 B.C., apparently by "stimulus diffusion" (influence) from North West India and North East Iran. An isolated hunting-peasant village culture with links with Central Asia and North China, grew up in Kashmir and the Kangra valley from about 2400 B.C.

The Stage 4 people, Early Technologists, came as such, from Iran, from the 4th millennium B.C., along with agriculturists, to North West India. They spread, along with the Indusians ("Harappans") to Gujarat. After the fall of the Indusians the Bronze Age Aryans, from about 1400 B.C., carried them to Central India, Maharashtra, Bengal; and to the Gangetic Valley ("Copper Hoard" culture). Later, the Iron Age Aryans went to Bihar for iron-extraction, from about 1000 B.C. Still later, from about 800-700 B.C., Dravidian-speakers from Iran made way by sea and land to the iron mines of Mysore.

The Stage 5 peoples, Warrior Nomads, came to India after the Stage 6 Theo-Technocrats, the Indusians ("Harappans"). They came as Bronze Age Aryans from the 18th century B.C., bringing the horse and the chariot; Iron Age Aryans from the 10th century B.C.; the historic Dravidians from the 9th century B.C.; riding Kushans (Shakas) 300-200 B.C.; Gurjars and White Huns 4th-5th century A.D.; Turks with cavalry horse, metal stirrup and compound reflex bow from the 12th century A.D.; and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Mughals etc., with artillery, from the 16th century A.D. The earlier invaders interacted with the Indusian priests, who deeply influenced them. The Turks, Mughals etc. came as convert-members of a Theo-Aristocratic West Asian (Islamic) civilization.

The Stage 6 Civilization—Indusian—lasted from the 4th millennium B.C. to about 1800 B.C. Priest-engineers from Iran, Dravidian-speaking, with their knowledge of irrigation techniques, and of star lore as an aid to agriculture, established a charismatic hold on food-gatherers, hunters and peasants. And by draining the Indus marshes they created a river valley civilization, which spread to Gujarat. This society was destroyed by floods, tectonic movements and Bronze Age Aryans round about the 2nd millennium B.C.

This complicated picture emerges from the latest researches, the writings of Marshall, Mackay, Mortimer Wheeler, Sankalia, Stuart Piggott, Bridget and Raymond Allchin, D. D. Kosambi, B. B. Lal and others, to which reference will be made in the chapters that follow. The dates are derived by the radio-carbon method, developed for India largely by D. P. Agarwal at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. There are recent indications,[2] largely of dendo-chronology, that the radio-carbon datings may be pushed backwards the earlier we go back in time. But this will not destroy the relative sequence of periods. We also see, from the presentation given, that the stages overlap, as they do even today in India.

There were three societies in the Seventh Stage—Theo-Aristocratic or "Feudal"—Aryo-Indian/Hindu ; Muslim-Indian ; and Sikh.

The Aryo-Indian/Hindu stage can be periodised as follows :

Phase 1 1000-7000 B.C. : Formation of a new life-style ; expansion of iron-using Aryo-Indians.

Phase 2 700-300 B.C. : Modification of the life-style by interaction with the Adivasis of the Gangetic plains.

Phase 3 300 B.C. to 700 A.D. : Full flowering/Empire/New formulations.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Phase 4 700-1200 A.D. : Final formulations of the Classic Hindu Civilization/Logomachy/"Second Religiousness"/South in the ascendant.

Between Stages 7B (Muslim-Indian) and 7C (Sikh) came the Theo-Mercantile, Stage 8 (Buddhist-Jain), which intersected with the Theo-Aristocratic Aryo-Indian. Its phase variations are given below:

Phase 1 700 B.C. to 300 B.C. : Rise due to the growth of trade and of towns and, therefore, of a merchant class supporting the simpler, more humane religions.

Phase 2 300 to 200 B.C. : Ashoka's attempted application of the Buddha's Doctrine of Social Harmony/ Expansion to Ceylon and missions to the West/Development in Buddhist art and culture.

Phase 3 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. : New developments e.g. Mahayana Buddhism and its Trans-Indian culture. Kanishka's empire.

Phase 4 300-800 A.D. : Final formulation of the Classic Indo-Buddhist civilization. Its absorption by the Theo-Aristocratic Hindu.

The Theo-Mercantile Arabo-Persian Muslims (Stage 8) reacted with the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic Stage (7A) in Sindh and South Punjab from 8th to the 11th centuries A.D.

The Theo-Mercantile Islamic (Arabo-Persian) regressed in West Asia to the Theo-Aristocratic Islamic (Turko-Persian). This interacted with the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic to produce a Stage 7B society—Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic. This can be studied under two phases:

Phase 1 11th-14th centuries—Turkish Paramountcy. *Bhakti* religions and democratisation of literatures.

Phase 2 15th century—Breakdown of Turkish Paramountcy. Growth of *bhakti* religions and regional language literatures.

There was reassertion and reconciliation in the extreme South (Vijaynagar).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The third phase of Muslim-Indian Society, 16th-17th centuries, saw the New Empire, the Mughal, the Mughal-Rajput paramountcy, *Pax Mughalia*, the age of Magnificence (specially under Shahjahan). With Aurangzeb's attempts at greater centralization the Mughal-Rajput *entente cordiale* was disrupted, leading to a break-down of the Mughal-Rajput paramountcy and of *Pax Mughalia*. There was growing "feudal insubordination", of the Sikhs, of the Marathas, and of others. The Sikhs created a third Theo-Aristocratic Society, but it was mainly confined to North West India (15th-19th centuries). It had three phases—Early peaceful stage/Militarization/Kingdom in the Punjab.

The Maratha reassertion (14th-19th centuries) had also three phases—spread of peaceful *bhakti* religion and the winning of spurs/Shivaji's centralised kingdom and Guru Ramdas' militant *bhakti* religion/Baji Rao's slogan of Hindu *pad padshahi* and Maratha expansionism.

In the fourth phase the Mughal Empire became decentralised but there was no chaos and cultural vigour continued.

All the Indian Theo-Aristocratic societies fell to the West European Rational-Mercantile Civilization in its British form. Earlier, the Portuguese Theo-Mercantile had created a lasting effect, although limited in area. The West European Rational-Mercantile turned Scientific-Democratic. The interaction between India and the British Rational-Mercantile can be studied as follows:

Phase 1 1600-1680—Factory period.

Phase 2 1680-1757—*Zamindari* and intervention in politics.

Phase 3 1757-1857—Empire.

The interaction with the British Scientific-Democratic Civilization can be periodised thus:

Phase 1 1857-1905—Direct taking over: private technocracy.

Phase 2 1905-47—Mixed and regulatory economy.

The aftermath of this interaction continues.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 4

THE GEOPOLITICAL BACKGROUND

INDIA, As any map of physical geography would show, is a relatively isolated *cul de sac of* Asia. The north has been really impenetrable and there has been only one recorded invasion across the Himalayas, the temporary one of the Chinese under Wang-hiuentse in the 7th century A.D. This shut-in nature led, according to K. M. Panikkar,[1] to Maginot-mindedness in defence matters, and to a lack of awareness of the importance of extra-Indian affairs, the two things, indeed, going hand in hand. The lack of interest in affairs outside India is reflected in ancient Indian geography. The sailors and land-merchants who went out of India must have had adequate knowledge of foreign countries, but they apparently did not have intimate contacts with intellectuals who, therefore, contented themselves with vague geographical concepts like Jambu-dvipa, Shaka-dvipa etc., which are found in Puranic literature. On the positive side, however, this isolation led to the concept of Bharat-varsha or India, as a geographical whole—a *Himachalam setu-paryantam*—apparently at least from the 1st century A.D. onwards. Even the Mughals became wholly India-based, and nearly forgot, except in genealogy and literature, Bokhara and Samarkand.

The Indo-Gangetic plains apparently became firm enough for human habitation only some 5000-7000 years ago.[2] This implies that the Indo-Gangetic valley was full of lagoons and water courses about 10,000 years ago, which must have helped, rather than hindered, primitive folk movements. The country was densely forested, like Central Africa today. Probably the forests were of *sal*.[3] In Harappan times the Punjab and Sindh were humid and sub-tropical, as the tigers and rhinocereses in the Indus Valley seals show. The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

are full of forests. The initial lines of penetration into the Gangetic Valley by warriors, traders and colonisers from the north-west had, therefore, generally to follow the visible Himalayan foot-hills, and then debouch down the rivers. North-South lines of communication between the Indo-Gangetic plains and the Deccan remained difficult even after the Gangetic valley was cleared, as Panikkar has pointed out,[4] because of the forests of the Deccan, and conquerors like Samudra Gupta, and humble pilgrims alike generally followed the eastern or western coasts. Too much, however, should not be made of these communication difficulties. Food-gatherers must have traversed the whole of India, as the linguistic survivals of the Austric (Munda) languages show. Looking at the matter through the eyes of archaeology, paleolithic, neolithic and chalcolothic complexes seem to have been diffused in such a way as to warrant the conclusion that travelling difficulties were overcome even by technologically primitive peoples.

Climatically India is mainly sub-tropical. Over most of North India the period is very pleasant from October to March, and this is so of the Southern Deccan uplands also. Elsewhere, the rains mitigate the heat between summer and autumn. The land is fertile, specially in the river valley areas. The lighter north-western forests were cleared by copper and bronze tools, but the heavier Indo-Gangetic and Deccan forests had to await iron ones. Once this happened, cultivators, bossed by lords and priests, could live as easily as their food-gathering ancestors had done. Easy-goingness is the result of India's sub-tropical climate and fertility. As Professor A. L. Basham has said,[5] it has developed in us "an addiction to the simple pleasures and luxuries so freely given by Nature, with the natural reactions of self-denial and asceticism on the one hand, and occasional strenuous efforts on the other."

The absence of large edible animals like the mastodon, mammoth etc. was inimical to the development of a Big Game Hunting civilization with its traditions of organised violence, martial virtues, strong in-group fighting feelings, desire for improving weaponry etc.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

India is relatively poor in known mineral resources, according to expert opinion,[6] as compared to, say, West Europe or China. The distribution is also uneven. Hence India was never an El-Dorado of prospectors, explorers, craftsmen and traders from West Asia, as West Europe was in early historic times. The Early Technological stage in India, therefore, was weak.

As India is sub-tropical it did not have the succulent temperate zone grasses on which horses thrive. It has never been a good horse country, and good breeds of horses had always to be imported. The users of horses, the warrior nomad aristocrats, also came from outside, through defiles in the Himalayas, in the north-west and north-east. The innumerable trails, apart from the passes, in the north-west made it easy for the descent of warlike tribesmen, but difficult to penetrate and police from the plains.[7] And this area is contiguous to the steppes of Central Asia, full of turbulent warrior aristocrat nomads. The Aryans, Shakas, Kushans, Huns, Turks, Afghans, all came from the north-west. Climatically also North-West India and Central Asia have much in common, being classified, under the international Koeppen symbols, as mainly BS (dry steppe) or BW (dry desert). Even as late as the age of the *Satapatha Brahmana* (circa 9th-8th century B.C.), tribes beyond the north-west mountains, like the Uttarakurus, Uttaramadras, Bahlikas, Kambojas etc. are mentioned in such a way as if there was no distinction between their habitat and what were later the Punjab and Afghanistan. The main point, however, is that the warrior aristocrats of India came from outside, and apparently in few numbers, except for the north-west, as the relative lack of martial traditions indicates.

Arab, and later the Portuguese, Dutch, French and British came to India by sea. Indian sailors also ventured daringly across the oceans, specially to South East Asia. But the natural harbour facilities are comparatively poor.[8] Nor were the seas washing the Indian shores a close channel of communication, like the Mediterranean, the Baltic and North Seas. Other countries were too far

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

away. All the marine areas of India had trading connections with outside countries from dim Harappan times, but the vast mass of India is relatively a land-locked one, compared to Greece, Norway or West Europe taken as a whole. Even in 1965 India was nowhere in the world shipping map, while the U.K., U.S.A., Norway, Japan each accounted for about 10% of world shipping and Greece 4%.[9] Hence India never developed a Theo-Mercantile Civilization as strong as that of the Levant, Babylon, Crete or West Europe nor a Rational-Mercantile one, like that of Greece. And there was no occasion either, given the comparative lack of known minerals and technologists, for a Scientific-Democratic one to emerge.

While the communication problem could be overcome even by technologically primitive peoples, it was not so easy as to lead to the formation of long-duration empires, like those of China, over the whole of the country. In China, the Hwang-ho and Yangtse Valleys have similarly oriented river-systems, and inter-connections which led to the construction of the Grand Canal. Thus, the great Chinese plains could be integrated into one whole, and from there the peripheral areas conquered, consolidated, and controlled. In India, the peculiar flow of rivers, eastward and South-westward in the Indo-Gangetic valley, and eastward and westward in the Deccan, and the existence of the Deccan rampart between North and South, rendered difficult the union of the whole country with pre-industrial technologies of transport and communications. And, the country has clearly marked-out sub-regions, as West Europe has. Cressey[10] gives these as follows (adapted) :

Plains

Indus Valley/Ganges Valley/Brahmaputra Valley/Orissa lowland/West Coast.

Peninsular India

Northern Uplands/Eastern Uplands/Black Soil Plateau/ Southern Peninsula.

Mountains

Western Frontier/Himalayan Highlands/Assam Mountains.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Desert

Thar Desert.

Corresponding to these geographical regions are the following "nuclear cultural regions":

(i) Udichya (Indus Valley and beyond), (ii) Madhya Desha (Middle Gangetic Valley), (iii) Prachya (Lower Gangetic Valley, Orissa, Brahmaputra Valley and beyond), (iv) Paschatya (Rajasthan-Gujarat including the Thar Desert), (v) Malava (Northern Uplands of the Deccan), (vi) Maharashtra (Black Soil Upland), (vii) Dandakaranya (North Eastern Deccan Uplands), (viii) Dakshinatya (Southern Peninsula) and (ix) Aparanta (West Coast).

The three factors—"Geography", "Natural Resources" and "Geopolitics" have loaded the dice against India in the matter of the evolution of several Stages of Civilization—Advanced Hunters, Early Technologists, Warrior Nomads and to some extent, the Theo-Mercantile. Consequently, the Rational-Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic never developed. West Europe, West Asia, China and Japan are better situated geographically and geopolitically, being less of *culs de sac,* with better minerals, harbours, indented coastline, freer internal communications etc. Only South-East Asia and Africa south of the Sahara are less favoured as regards openness of communications and other factors. Geographical configuration, geopolitics and the relative lack of certain natural resources, and not climate as Nirad Chaudhuri has averred,[11] have been the deciding factors in India's arrested development.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

PART TWO

THE ERA OF PRIMITIVE SIMILARITY

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 5

STAGE 1—FOOD GATHERERS AND PRIMITIVE HUNTERS

Thrust of the arguments

IN THIS chapter it is sought to prove that the stage of food-gatherers and primitive hunters :

(i) had close foreign affiliations ; (ii) was widespread in India ; (iii) was similar in culture to food-gathering societies elsewhere in the world ; (iv) made fundamental contributions to Indian civilizations which are very much alive even today.

THE WORLD MATRIX

Reference has already been made, in Chapter 2, to the earliest cultures of mankind, known after tools, viz :

(i) hand-axe tool ; (ii) flake tool ; (iii) chopping tool.

An authoritative description of these and of their extent is given in the UNESCO History of Mankind, Vol. I (London 1963). They started over 40,000 years ago if only *homo sapiens* is taken, and 100,000 years ago if Neanderthal man is included. The Hand Axe culture covered the whole of Africa, West Asia, Spain, Peninsular India, and then way up to North West India, almost excluding the Gangetic Valley, and excluding East India. The Flake Tool culture was initially confined to Continental Europe. In China, South East Asia and Indonesia there was the Chopping Tool culture, which apparently extended across the Gangetic Valley to the Punjab, meeting the Hand-axe culture all along the line. These pertain to the earliest times. Later, all these criss-crossed with each other so far as India went.

Food-gatherers and Primitive Hunters in India

Following authorities like B. Subba Rao, H. D. Sankalia, D. H. Gordon etc., and with the help of D. P. Agarwal of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research for radio-carbon dating,[1] we get the following classification for the first two periods of the Paleolithic in India:

Before 35,000 years ago	Early Stone Age
35,000-14,000 years ago	Middle Stone Age

Broadly, the Early pertains mainly to hand-axes (along with early flake and chopping tools) and the Middle to advanced flake industries.[2] According to Bridget and Raymond Allchin[3] these two periods belong to people who were food-gatherers and primitive hunters, wandering all over with no settled habitat.

The affinities of the chopping tools found in the Early Soan in the Punjab are with the Burmese Anyathian, the Malayan Tampanian, the Javan Patjitinian and the Chinese Choukoutien cultures.[4] The hand-axe technology originated in East Central Africa, but it penetrated right to North West India, apparently from the South, although the older tradition persisted.[5]

The Middle Stone Age flake sites have connections with Central Asia, according to Professor Boriskovsky[6] and others. The Indian flake technology seems to be comparatively poor, with few trimmed or reworked points.[7] Apparently the technical traditions of Central Asia became diluted in India, with time. It appears that the hand-axe carriers were proto-Negritos (seeing that the tradition originated in Central Africa), while the chopping tool traditions were part and parcel of those of East and South East Asia, extending up to Central Asia. In early times, according to the famous anthropologist A. L. Kroeber, and the archaeologist, Grahame Clark, proto-Australoids inhabited South East Asia up to South China and possibly extended to the Indo-Gangetic plains, and even Central Asia.[8]

Thus, all the Old Stone Age cultures existing in India were apparently of foreign origin or inspiration, certainly with foreign affiliations. According to the terminology of our Five-Force Dynamics the stimuli were external, or "geopolitical".

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The Widespread Nature of the Food-Gathering Stage in India

Early Stone Age sites have been found all over India, the Soan, Beas, Narbada (Maheshwar/Adamgarh/Jabalpur area) and Wainganga valleys, Nevasa in the Western Godavari valley, the Bombay-Kandivli area, Gundla-Brahmeshwaram in Andhra Pradesh and Attirampakkam and Gudiyam cave in Tamil Nadu.[9] The Middle Stone Age flake industries are found in most of the Early Stone Age sites and these are very often continued to the Late Stone Age. A large Middle Stone Age flake site has been found in Sanghao Cave in West Pakistan.[10] This is again connected with Teshik Tash in Central Asia.[11] All the technologies also criss-crossed. It would be fair to presume, therefore, that the people were also mixed up.

The Food-Gatherers were Australoids

The proto-Australoids apparently predominated, for according to anthropologists, Negrito traces are very few in India.[12] There is no rock art nor fossil remains to give a clue to the racial composition of the earliest Indians. Early Sanskrit literature is full of references to food-gatherers, fishermen and primitive hunters—Dasas, Kaivartas, Sabaras, Nishadas, Koliyas etc., as Irawati Karve has pointed out.[13] Some, like the Dasas, were apparently more advanced than the others. Still more advanced were the Nagas, who were allied with the Mundas.[14] As the Mundas are Australoids it is reasonable to assume that the early food-gatherers and primitive hunters of India also belonged to that race.

The Civilization of the Food-gatherers—Similar Everywhere all over the World

The first stage of Man's existence was, in Hobbes' phrase, "nasty, brutish and short". The physical environment was hostile. Without sharp teeth or claws, or the physical prowess of beasts of prey, man had to rely on his brains, and on his tool-making capacity. It is the presumption of archaeologists that these earliest men were food-gatherers and primitive hunters. People in this stage of culture exist

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

even now in out-of-the way places, mostly in tropical rain forests, poor desert scrubland, and the Arctic, i.e. where the physical environment was too difficult for man to conquer with primitive tools. In Toynbee's phrase, the challenge was too hard. From a study of such primitive societies, over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it has been found that they share a large number of basic traits. These societies include:

In Africa: the Pygmies and Pygmoid tribes, some Bushmen tribes in Angola and South Africa; the Kindiga, Sandawe and Ndorobbo of East Africa, and the Mountain Dame of South West Africa.

In India: in the South, the Kadar, Malapantaram, Paliyan, Irula, Panyan, Yanadi and Kurumba; in the Deccan, the Chenchu; the Katkari in Maharashtra; and a few tribes in Central and North India like the Birhors, Korwa etc., and the Andamanese.

Rest of Asia: Asiatic Pygmies or Negritoes; the Semang of Malaya; the Aetas, Panay and Mindanao of the Philippines; the Veddas of Ceylon; the Punnan of Borneo, the Kubu of Sumatra, the Toala of the Celebes; and formerly, the Ainu of Japan.

In Australia: South-eastern tribes like the Kurnai and Kulin, the extinct Tasmanians, the Wiradyuri—Kamilaroi, and the Yuin-Kulin.

In South America in the Yamana or Yogan, the Halakwulup or Halakaluf, and the Seiknam or Ona.

In North America: the Yuki and Maidu of North Central California; the Algonquin tribes of the North-east and Centre; the inland Salish on the Rocky Mountains and in British Colombia. Some Arctic tribes are partly food-gathering and partly advanced hunters, like the Samoyed, the Koryak, Gilyak, and the Wogul of Siberia and the Caribou Eskimos.

The Austrian anthropologist, Father Stephen Fuchs, has compared the culture-traits of these food-gathering societies in his "The Origin of Man and his Culture" (London, 1963) and made generalisations which are made use of in this

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

chapter. The Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life is food-gathering and primitive hunting, by men and women alike. The Prevailing Ethos is peaceful, friendly, amiable (all in a comparative way), communist, low level of organisational ambition, slip-shod. They are happy with daily routines and old traditions.

The Basic Attitudes/Values are as follows:

Functions	*Basic Attitudes/Values*
1. *Science and Technology*	
(i) Thinking	Pre-logical.
(ii) Teachers	Both men and women can be teachers. Respected, but not worshipped.
2. *Economics*	
(iii) Working	All work together, men and women, for subsistence, and self-sufficiency at a low level. Plenty of leisure, leisure prized.
3. *Family and Society*	
(iv) Relations with Fellowmen	Democracy within the group. Tolerance for other groups.
(v) Man and Woman	Equality
(vi) Hierarchy	Respect for age.
4. *Politics, administration, military affairs*	
(vii) Duty Sense	To in-group; all are organically part of it; there is no sense of conflict between "self" and "group".
(viii) Fighting spirit	Pacifist.
(ix) "In-group"/"Out-group" feeling	*The* basic fact of life. Tolerance for "out-groups".
5. *Ideology*	
(x) Epistemology	Knowledge is gained by revelation, dreams etc.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(xi)	Metaphysics	Good and Bad spirits pervading the entire universe. Psychic energy also pervading everything and all persons. Different levels of psychic energy in different persons, things etc.
(xii)	Theology	Belief in the existence of a Moral and Just Supreme Being, apart from daimons.
(xiii)	Eschatology	People reborn after death.
(xiv)	Ethics	Primitive Communism.
6. *Culture*		
(xv)	Gregariousness	Men and women enjoy activities together, no sex-segregation.
(xvi)	Eating and drinking	Pollution and *taboo* ideas regarding certain foods. Drinking is a pleasure.
(xvii)	Attitude to fine arts, literature etc.	Open to both men and women, participating equally.
(xviii)	Attitude to the Past	Conservative.

"Pre-logical" thinking (or groping) made mastery over the physical environment difficult, and progress in technology was very slow. Carleton Coon speaks of widespread uniformity over a vast span of time, a quarter of a million years (from the time of the pre-hominids) and attributes this to "the most conservative nature imaginable".[15] This conservatism must have applied, not only to the material world, but also to Values and Institutions, where we know from experience that the resistance to innovation by vested interests is much stronger. Therefore, it will be quite safe to extrapolate back in Time, and derive for the Food-gatherers of the Upper Paleolithic Age, tens of thousands of years ago, substantially the same Values and Institutions which we see in their cultural descendants today. These

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

can conveniently be summarized in a tabular form as given below :

Functions	*Values and Ideas*	*Institutions etc.*
1. Science and technology.	Pre-logical ideas. Weaponry for hunting; not fighting. tools.	Technology weak. Little development in weaponry or other tools.
2. Economy	Self - sufficiency. Communist ideas.	Trade and barter weak. No accumulation of wealth. Joint property. Family land joint. Family basic production and consumption unit. Both sexes work, some functional division of labour.
3. Family	Men and women equal.	Freedom of choice in marriage given to both partners. Pre-marital relations allowed to both men and women. Extramarital relations not liked. Practical monogamy. Bilateral descent reckoning.
4. Social organisation	Family as unit. Age groupings.	Exogamy. Initiation ceremonies. Youth dormitories.
5. Political and administrative organisation	Democracy, but age respected.	Rule by age or gerontocracy. Chief only *primus inter pares*. No aristocracy or slavery.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

6. Military organisation	Pacifism.	No effective arrangements for defence or offence.
7. Religious ideology	Moral and just Supreme Being. Universe full of spirits — daimons —good and bad, in stones, rivers, trees, plants etc. Psychic energy or spiritual substance pervading the entire Universe, each object differing in spiritual voltage. Reincarnation idea.	Belief in magic, and shamans as intermediaries. Mythopoeia. Ideas of pollution and taboo. Totemism. Priestesses as well as priests. No image of deity.
8. Education	Initiation ceremonies, open for all.	No sex discrimination.
9. "Culture"	Equality of sexes.	Men and women participate in merry-making. Both create proverbs, legends, folk tales.

Thus Original Men, or *Ur-Menschen,* as the Germans would call them, were strangely "modern". There is a Supreme God, but no idol worship; men and women are equal; there are no classes. But there are significant differences also, the chief amongst which are that property and means of production were joint and the people were all pacifists.

The above Values and Institutions apply to Food-gatherers all over the world, including India, but it will

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

be interesting to give some specific Indian instances. The Birhors and the Andamanese have freedom in selecting mates. Among the Kadars monogamy is compulsory as long as the marriage lasts.

There are totem animals and plants—the Gonds have the goat totem ; the Korku, the tree ; the Balahi, the snake and owl. These tribes also have groups of village elders administering all affairs, the precursor of the *panchayat* system.

There are age group associations, the youth dormitories, among various Naga tribes—Konyak, Ao, Angami etc. as well as among the Abors. And in Central India, among the Birhors (*gitiora*), Oraon (*dhumkuria*), Gond (*gotul*), Bhuiya (*dhangarbasa*) etc. Pre-marital sex is allowed in these dormitories. In South India youth dormitories exist among the Mutduvan, the Mannam, the Paliyan and the Kamikar ; and in West India, among the Worli.

The Andamanese are pacifists, the women deciding the peace. The Veddas and the Kadars have group government, without chiefs.

The Chenchu own property jointly. The weirs of the Katkari are also jointly owned.

The belief in a Supreme God may be tinged with Hindu concepts, but is apparently original in its earliest manifestations. Thus, the South Indian Ayappan, Ayanar, Sastha, Ilura, Malavay, etc. all merged in Shiva. The Munda speaking Santals, Mundas, Birhors etc. believe in Sing Bonga (sun-moon/sun spirit). Also in mountain and vegetable deities, in several souls for a person, and in the universe being full of daimons. There is the belief that after suffering in a pond full of worms all beings ultimately go to God, and are reborn again.

The Language of Indian Food-Gatherers

We have seen that in Sanskrit literature the food-gatherers are called Sabaras, Koliyas, Kaivartas, Dasas, Nagas, etc. These people spoke Austric tongues, (like the present day Santali), which covered the whole of South East Asia, and extended up to the Yang-Tse-Kiang, even as late as the times of the Early Chou (1100-720 B.C.).[16]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

This does not necessarily mean that the food-gatherers and trappers in India over 20,000 years ago spoke the same kind of languages as did the peoples mentioned in Sanskrit literature, which pertain to happenings only about 3000-3500 years old. But this is highly likely. In any case the legacy of the culture of the earliest food-gatherers and hunters must have passed to their Austric-speaking successors.

The Legacy of the Food-Gatherers

It would be quite fair, therefore, to take recourse to linguistic analysis to find out what these gifts were by tracing words of Austric origin in the Indian heritage. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, the doyen of Indian linguists, has done this in more than one place. We find, from his conclusions,[17] that the contributions are of *fundamental* importance—the germs of the idea of transmigration of souls; the reincarnation or *avatara* idea; elephants (*matanga, gaja*); peacocks (*marak*); the concepts of pollution and *tabu* (the Atharva Veda word is *tabuva*); the legends of the creation of the world from an egg or eggs; totem deities like snakes (*nagas*), the tortoise, the crocodile (*makara*), the monkey, Ganesha with the elephant's head etc. The basically pacifist strain in the Indian people, their easy-going tolerance and slip-shodness may also be legacies from food-gathering ancestors.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 6

STAGE 2—ADVANCED HUNTERS

Thrust of the Arguments

IN THIS chapter we seek to show that:

(i) the stage of Advanced Hunters was limited in extent and scope in India;

(ii) it was stimulated from abroad;

(iii) its relative weakness in India was detrimental to us from the point of view of our martial and organisational traditions;

(iv) as food-gatherers preponderated over advanced hunters there was an initial bias in our society in favour of easy-going amiability and all-too-ready peaceableness, compared say, to West Europe.

Advanced Hunting Sites in India

Advanced Hunting sites are associated all over the world with microliths (blades and burins), which were used for fashioning weapons, tackles, tools etc. for big game hunting and fishing. Also at these sites one finds knives, arrow-heads etc. as well as animal and fish bones and rock cut painting scenes displaying episodes from the hunt, usually of mystic or religious import.

In India Late Stone Age or Microlithic sites have been found in[1]:

(i) Sabarmati Valley (Langhnaj); (ii) Chambal Valley (Modi rock shelter); (iii) Narbada Valley (Adamgarh, Jambudip and Dorothy Deep rock shelters, Jabalpur area—Bhera Ghat, Bara-Simla etc. (iv) Central India (Mirzapur area, Son Valley etc.; Barkauha, Sidhpur, Lekhana, Morhana Pahar); (v) Birbhanpur (West Bengal); (vi) Bombay-Kandivli area; (vii) Kondapur (Andhra Pradesh); (viii) Attirampakkam and Gudiyan cave (South of Madras); (ix) Jalahalli (near Bangalore); (x) Tuticorin *teri* (dune) sites; (xi) Bandarawela (in Ceylon).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The sites are, thus, mainly in Gujarat and Central India, with an isolated one at Birbhanpur. Nothing so far has been found in the Indo-Gangetic Valley.[2] The Bombay coastal sites, according to Col. K. R. U. Todd, were fishing sites, as were those of Tuticorin. The Birbhanpur site is not massive and no human or animal remains have been found.[3] The animal remains at Langhnaj include those of deer, antelope, rhinoceros, wild boar, cattle, buffalo, wolf, rat, squirrel and mongoose. Similar remains are found at Adamgarh. The rock caves at Adamgarh and Morhana Pahar contain paintings of people hunting animals like deer, antelope, rhinoceros with bows, arrows and spears. The dating, according to B. B. Lal and others[4], is from about 15,000 years ago. It continued for over 11,000-12,000 years, largely in the Central Indian, Andhra and Ceylon jungles, with traces existing even today. Hence it was not very widespread, and the animals hunted were largely the mild deer and the antelope, as against the dangerous mastodon, mammoth and wild aurochs of Europe. In Sanskrit literature the Nishadas, Sabaras etc. were hunters. Ramachandra is supposed to have met a Sabara woman in the Central Indian forests.

It was Stimulated from Abroad

In Gujarat and West Central India the relationship between the earlier flake technology (Middle Stone Age) and the microliths is hard to pin down, as if the latter were imported, while this can be done in the South, and more so in Ceylon.[5] The quality of blade technology also deteriorates as one goes south. It is as if there was an infiltration of big game hunters from outside to West India, the spread of their culture to Central India, and thence to Andhra and further south. The Cammiade Andhra collection, thus, shows affinities with Eastern Central India.[6] As the people spread they must have intermarried with the food-gatherers, and their traditions, including technology, got diluted. This conclusion is supported by anthropology. Thus, the Langhnaj people of the Sabarmati valley have, according to H. D. Sankalia and Irawati Karve, both Australoid (Veddoid) and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Mediterranean (Hamitic) characteristics.[7] The Sabaras of Orissa and the Bandarawela people of Ceylon, inheritors of the Big Game Hunting traditions, on the other hand, are Australoids. There is strong presumptive reason to conclude, therefore, that the Big Game Hunting culture entered India from perhaps an ultimately East African provenance about 15,000 years ago. Originally it was, racially, Hamitic (Mediterranean), but as it moved to Central India and to the south, it mixed more and more with the food-gatherers and became less and less Hamitic and more and more Australoid. Its technology also got diluted in the same manner.

Values and Institutions

The same methodology is followed here as in the case of Food Gatherers. We take Advanced Hunting societies known in historic times, and if there are common characteristics, extrapolate them back in Time and across space (i.e. countries). The Sarasins and the Seligmans actually found a Bandarawela (Ceylon) cave site occupied by a Vedda family having the same culture as that revealed by the excavations.[8] The type of paintings seen in the Mahadeo Hills rock sanctuaries, according to Verrier Elwin, is still found among the Saora (Sawera or Sabara) of the Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa.[9] Facts like these lend strong support to the methodology used. Modern big-game hunters are relatively few. But they were still there in the nineteenth century. For instance, the various North American Buffalo-hunters like the Blackfoot, Cree, Assiniboine, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Dakota, Pawnee, Omaha etc. etc. as well as the Siberian Yukaghir. The Advanced or Big Game Hunters flourished in Europe and elsewhere from about 32,000 years ago—the Chatelperronian, Aurignacian, Gravettian, Solutrean, Magdalenian, Azilian, Maglemosian, Tardenoisian etc. men—to about 5,000 years ago.

Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life—Big Game Hunting.

Prevailing Ethos—Organied violence against animals and poaching "out-grops"; otherwise lazy and hospitable.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The Basic Attitudes/Values are as follows :

Functions	*Basic Attitudes/Values*
1. *Science and Technology*	
(i) Thinking	*Shamans* as thinkers. Thought pre-logical.
(ii) Teachers	Respect for *shamans*.
2. *Economics*	
(iii) Working	Organised communal hunting (male) of big animals.
3. *Family and Society*	
(iv) Relations with Fellow Men	"In-group" and "out-group" ideas strong. Rivalry for game.
(v) Man and Woman	Concept of male superiority.
(vi) Hierarchy	Respect for strong and cunning hunt-leaders.
4. *Politics, administration and military affairs*	
(vii) Duty sense	Loyalty to "in-group". No conflict between self and group. Contempt for "out-groups".
(viii) Fighting spirit	Strong. Totem and clan solidarity against "out-groups".
5. *Ideology*	
(ix) Epistemology	Knowledge gained by *shamans*.
(x) Metaphysics	Animal magic. Spiritual Energy pervading the Universe. *Participation Mystique* with animals.
(xi) Theology	Deity otiose (functionless).
6. *Culture*	
(xii) Gregariousness	Segregation of the sexes, separate convivial groups.
(xiii) Eating and drinking	Taboos regarding totem animals. Free drinking.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Functions	*Basic Attitudes/Values*
(xiv) Attitude to fine arts, literature etc.	Only men act and create.
(xv) Attitude to the Past.	Innovation mainly only in weaponry development, hunting techniques, etc.

Functions	*Values & Ideas*	*Institutions*
1. Science and technology	Development of weapons for hunting.	Organised communal hunting of big animals.
2. Economy	Barter/most goods not produced.	Trade, fairs.
3. Family	Women's position inferior.	Women in serving capacities. As slaves in some societies. Freedom of marriage to boys only. Male predominance.
4. Society	Totem, taboos regarding totems.	Totem groups/ phratries or brother-kin groups, many of animal origin/totem subdivisions. Thus, tiger totem subdivided into tiger-head, tiger-tail etc.
5. Politics, military affairs etc.	Totem and clan solidarity against "out-groups".	Chiefs arise, but elders still powerful. Kin responsible for law; blood revenge.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Functions	*Values & Ideas*	*Institutions*
6. Religious ideology and education	Animal magic; spiritual energy pervading the Universe. *Participation Mystique* with animals.	Deity otiose; sacrifice of animals with propitiatory rites and dances. Animal-mask sorcerers, secret lore of hunting.
7. "Culture"	Male superiority. Totem and taboo ideas.	Taboo regarding certain foods. Only men act. "Cave Art".

The Hunting Cultures of India show great similarity to the Hunting Cultures depicted in European Cave Art, and we find the same empathy with animals, and the same sense of *participation mystique*. The rock caves of Adamgarh and Morhana Pahar in Central India, for instance, show animals like deer and antelope, and people hunting them with bows, arrows and spears. Animal-headed figures are to be seen and dancing scenes. The Mahadeo Hills cave paintings, pertaining to as late as the 3rd-4th centuries A.D., are vivid. There are horned and tailed sorcerer figures, recalling the cave art masterpieces of Ancient France, the Dancing Wizard pronouncing enchantments before pictures of animals (Les Combarelles), and the Wizard playing flute and enchanting beasts. (Les Trois-Freres). There are encounters with wild beasts, a warrior seizing the arm of a reluctant girl while three other ladies raise their arms in horror, women balancing jars on their heads etc.[10]

Relative Absence of Advanced Hunting—
Cultural Values in India: Its Effects

The Big Game Hunting Culture was not extensive in India, as we have seen. It was also not quite Big Game Hunting in the international sense of the term. The Unesco authors of world history seem to think that the blade and burin tradition of Big Game Hunters was almost absent in India.[11] Grahame Clark thinks that the Big Game Hunting Culture by-passed most of Africa, India and South East Asia.[12] Basically "Big Game" consisted of dangerous animals like the mammoth, the mastodon, and the wild

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

aurochs. And India did not have these. Even the rhinoceros and the wild boar could not compare with them, and the Indian forest hunters did not track down the tiger and the crocodile systematically as they were not food animals. Hence, they are not depicted with that frequency as the deer and the antelope, the most popular game animals.[13] The by-passing of Africa, India and South East Asia by the big Game Hunting Culture had important consequences. Big Game hunting, with primitive weapons, necessitated strong in-group traditions, unity, skill in organised violence, desire for improving weapons etc., qualities in direct ancestry of the martial virtues and discipline of the conquering warrior hordes, and these qualities are less evident, even today, in a comparative sense, in places like India, where the advanced hunting traditions have been less strong, than for instance, areas like Europe, where they were much stronger.

Comparison with Europe

India was thus predominantly a food-gathering and trapping country round about the 5th-4th millennium B.C. By contrast, food-gathering of the type known in sub-tropical countries—gathering berries, nuts, fruits—would not have worked in Ice Age Europe. One had to kill animals to clothe oneself merely to survive. And if animals were slaughtered their meat was also available. Fortunately the margins of the ice tundras and steppes supported vast hordes of large gregarious mammals—mammoths, woolly rhinoceros, bison, wild horse, reindeer. Later, after the Ice Ages came *homo sapiens* from North and East Africa and South West Asia, armed with superior flint tools, blades, burins, and a variety of weapons.[14] They also hunted and they fished. And all through, right up to the 5th millennium B.C. for over 25,000 years hunters and fishers formed the basic constituents of the European population.[15] Thus Europe had a head-on start, in comparison with India, in skill in organised violence against animals and "out-groups", in dexterity in handling weapons and in an aggressive attitude to the world, while the food-gatherers and trappers of India continued to live an easy-going, amiable and all-too-peaceful life.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 7

STAGE 3—MATRIFOCAL AGRICULTURISTS

Thrust of the Arguments

IT IS sought to indicate/prove that:

(i) matrifocal agriculture came earlier to places outside India; (ii) it originated in areas where wild cereals grew—Nature's blessing; (iii) there were four initial centres of matrifocal agriculture in India, from whence the knowledge of agriculture spread; (iv) it came late to the Gangetic Valley, from the North West; (v) a second wave came still later to the South, whence it pushed to the North and North East; (vi) the various neolithic cultures of India had contacts with each other and criss-crossed; (vii) the Values and Institutions of matrifocal agricultural societies are same all over the world, including India; (viii) these can still be seen peeping out of later patriarchal encrustations; (ix) it was, therefore, very widespread, and its legacies are still apparent; (x) although submerged, matrifocal values are stronger in India than in, say, West Europe or Japan, with important consequences.

What is the Matrifocal Agricultural Society?

In the matrifocal agricultural society the woman is the most important person; everything revolves round the women. Archaeologically, matrifocal agricultural societies are known as "neolithic" (New Stone), purely by accident, because of polished stone tools. These societies were peaceful, and are characterised by pottery, agricultural remains, fixed human habitations, and a plethora of mother-goddess figurines. It may be difficult to believe today that there were ever societies in which women were more important than men. But this has been known in historic times. For instance, Margaret Mead found in New Guinea that among the Tchambuli the "normal" sex-roles were reversed. As she says in her *Sex and Temperament*[1]: "....we found

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

a genuine reversal of the sex-attitudes of our own culture, with the woman the dominant, impersonal managing partner, the man the less responsible and the emotionally dependent person".

Matrifocal Agriculture Came Earlier to Places Outside India

The Unesco History of Mankind, Vol. I, (London 1963), gives a picture of the origin and spread of neolithic culture. Let us take the Old World, which concerns India. The earliest known peasant culture is that of Jericho, excavated by Dame Kathleen Kenyon. The radio-carbon dating is 7800 B.C., and by 7000 B.C. it was full neolithic. In Jarmo (North Mesopotamia) the date is 6500 B.C., in Belt and Hotu caves (North Mesopotamia and Iran respectively), 7th and 6th millennium B.C. In the 6th millennium B.C. agriculture spread to Anatolia (Mersin/ Hacilar) and is found in other centre in Iran and North Mesopotamia—Sialk, Hassauna, Nineveh, Samarra. It also spread to Egypt (Tasian), possibly from Palestine; and to Greece (Otzaki) impressed ware apparently from Anatolia. In the 5th millennium B.C. we have Tell Halaf in Syria and the Al-Ubaid culture in Iraq, both North and South; Fayum A, Fayum B, and Badarian in Egypt and Khirokitia in Cyprus. Agriculture also spread during this millennium to the Balkans and the Danube Valley (Starcevo, Koros, Danube I), South Italy (Molfetta), Sicily (Stentinello), Liguria (Impressed Ware) and South and East Spain (Impressed Ware). In the 4th millennium B.C. agriculture took deeper root in South Mesopotamia (Ulruk) and spread to India (the pre-Indus Valley cultures) and China (Yangshao culture in North and Central regions, and Lung Shan in the eastern coast, along with an apparently independent Southern neolithic). To the west it spread to Macedonia (Sesklo), and to the Crete (Knossos), further in the Balkans (Vinca), and to Central and Western Europe. In the 3rd millennium B.C. we find the Tripolye culture in South Russia, and megalithic agriculture in Iberia, France and the British Isles, spreading from Malta.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Agriculture reached Japan partially with the Jomon sub-neolithic (3rd millennium B.C.), but really only with the Yayoi culture, from the Asiatic mainland, in the 3rd century B.C.

The above narration gives a world perspective and shows India's chronological position as a peasant people.

Matrifocal Agriculture originated in areas where wild cereals grew

Matrifocal agriculture was not *sui generis* in India. It originated in those areas of the world—apparently in three centres—where the ancestors of the present-day cereals grew wild. In other words, it was a gift of Nature—one of the Five Forces of our Five-Force Configuration. From about 20,000 B.C., as is well-known, there were fluctuations in the world's climate, alternating periods of wetness (Atlantic phases) and dryness (Boreal phases), due to the cyclonic storm belts. A warming-up or Boreal phase began in the 8th millennium B.C. There was slow desiccation in North Africa and West Asia. Men and animals were forced into areas where water was relatively more plentiful and, for sheer survival, cereal production had to begin. It started in those areas where the ancestors of domestic plants were found. These are well known as a result of the researches of Vavilov, Berthold Klatt, Zeuner and others. Wild wheat was found in Anatolia, South Greece, and the Palestine-Lebanon coast. Wild barley was found in the same area, with an eastward extension from Anatolia to the Caspian. We have seen, in the last section, that the earliest wheat and barley cultures grew in this region.

There are conflicting views as to where rice cultivation first began. Some put it in China.[2] Others in India.[3] In South East Asia, in the mesolithic Tongking sites of Bacson and Hoabinh, wild rice has been found in the 3rd millennium B.C. There can be no doubt that a second centre of neolithic origins, centred round rice, started somewhere in South China—South East Asia—North East India area. From here the round, quadrangular and shouldered stone axe cultures spread during the second

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and first millennium B.C., along with bronze tools (obtained ultimately from West Asia) and megaliths.

A third centre was in the New World, based on maize, gourds, lima beans and squashes. It started about the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.

In Micronesia and Polynesia farming (yam, taro etc.) spread, apparently carried by people of Asian Mainland origin, who were also bold navigators, braving the vast expanses of the Pacific, with its mighty rolls, in their outrigger canoes. From radio-carbon dating we know that Micronesia was reached round 1530±200 B.C., and Hawaii by 100±180 A.D.[4]

Africa had no wild cereals of her own. Shaheinab, near Omdurman, had neolithic traits as far back as the 4th millennium B.C., and there were isolated neolithic traits elsewhere in Africa also.[5] But real farming practices spread slowly from Meroe, at the junction of the Nile and Atbara, west and south, along with iron, only from the 5th century B.C., and largely after the beginning of the Christian era.

Four Centres of Matrifocal Agriculture in India: Late to the Gangetic Valley

(*a*) *General*

The picture about the neolithic (matrifocal agriculturist) and chalcolithic (early technologist) stages of Indian history was more or less dark and confused when Stuart Piggot wrote his *Prehistoric India* about twenty five years ago (in 1949). Since then, the labours of devoted scholars, Indian and foreign, have made the picture much clearer. Excavations continue to throw more light, and will fill the outline, which may perhaps safely be said to have emerged. The picture is, broadly, subject to the earlier *caveat* about radio-carbon datings, as follows:

(a) the neolithic and the chalcolithic came, more or less together into north-west India (old sense), chiefly Afghanistan and Baluchistan, from Iran, in the 4th millennium B.C.; (1*st centre*).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) on this peasant base the pre-Harappan and Harappan civilizations grew up in the North-West, with extension to the present-day Gujarat;

(c) towards the closing period of the Harappan civilization (after 2000 B.C.), it apparently sent powerful "stimulus diffusion" (a term from the anthropologist, Kreober) waves to the Banas Valley, Malwa, N. W. Deccan (Maharashtra), Central India and East India. Some of these waves were apparently direct, from the Punjab-Sind area, like that to the Banas Valley (1700 B.C.). Others were from later Harappan areas, like that to Central India from Saurashtra. Bengal apparently received a tertiary wave, from Central India. The ceramic ware is different from the Harappan in these cases, but what is assumed is a "stimulus diffusion", a diffusion of the idea that pottery can be made, and of its technology, into areas where it was formerly non-existent.

(d) there was a neolithic pastoral tradition in Kashmir, having links with Central Asia and China (Burzahom), starting about 2500 B.C. (*2nd centre*);

(e) South of the Godavari a neolithic tradition grew up (e.g. Utnur), about 2400 B.C., either independently, or under "stimulus diffusion" from north-west India; (*3rd centre*).

(f) towards the end of its days the Harappan civilization, apparently largely by "stimulus diffusion", brought into existence an extensive "copper hoard" culture in the Gangetic valley (from 1400 B.C.);

(g) about 2500 B.C. an eastern neolithic tradition, the stone-shouldered hoe or quadrangular adze culture, with links with South East Asia, came into existence; (*4th centre*); it apparently extended to parts of what is now Uttar Pradesh and even Rajasthan.

(h) the various traditions met and intersected and were not isolated.

The most convenient summary giving details of these cultures is *The Birth of Indian Civilization* by Bridget and Raymond Allchin (Pelican 1968), and the picture given below is largely culled from this book.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(*b*) *The North Western Centre*

From the 4th millennium B.C. we find related neolithic cultures in the North West; it appears at Mundigak in South East Afghanistan about 3500 B.C.; simultaneously in North Baluchistan in the Quetta Valley (Kili Ghul Muhammad), Damb Sadaat and Rana Ghundai; it moves to Zhob (Periano Ghundai) about 2500 B.C.; in Central Baluchistan, the Kalat (Anjira) neolithic is dated about 3500 B.C.; it moves to South Baluchistan, Nal, Nundara by about 3000 B.C.; to Kulli and Mehi about 2500 B.C. The movement is now to the Punjab, Sindh and Rajasthan. Amri becomes neolithic about 3000 B.C., Mohenjo-Daro, Kot Diji, Chanhu-daro about the same time; Harappa, Kalibangan and Rupar show neolithic sites from about 2500 B.C. At Mundigak J. M. Casal found the culture similar to those of Baluchi sites, but with a greater diversity of crafts, and close to those of Iran (Sialk and Hissar). There is, thus, reason to infer that waves of influence trickled from Iran to Baluchistan across Afghanistan. The sites proliferated tremendously towards the end of the fourth millennium B.C. Pottery, indicating of cereal storage, and so cultivation, appears from about 3500 B.C., generally buff in the south and red further north. The terra cotta figurines include those of the Indian humped bull, and crudely formed human females, perhaps primitive mother goddesses. Round about 2400 B.C. in Mundigak IV we see a town with massive defensive walls and square bastions of sun-dried bricks. There are two mounds, one apparently a palace complex, and another a temple complex. Female figures of "the Zhob mother-goddess" type are found, and pottery decorated with birds, ibex, bulls and *pipal* trees.

Club wheat and jujube appear to have been cultivated at Mundigak, and presumably elsewhere. The art of later Mundigak seems to have links with Diyala and Susa in Iran.

Thus, all in all, it is clear that an intrusive culture, owing its inspiration to Iran, was transplanted into Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and thence to North West India, about the early part of the third millennium B.C.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The relative absence of weapons, and their comparative simplicity (stone axes etc.) seem to indicate a somewhat peaceful penetration, perhaps by exploiting the credulity of simple food-gatherers and primitive hunters, whose technology was principally based upon stone, and whose tools were the bow and arrow, the trap, the snare, and the digging stick.

(c) *Kashmir*

The Burzahom culture, six miles north-east of Srinagar, was discovered by De Terra. This is a hunting-cum-cultivating culture, with the former predominating and going back to about 2400 B.C. The people lived in *Karewa* pits, and used a coarse grey or black burnished pottery. There are nine sites adjacent to Burzahom with a similar culture, as is the Kangra stone axe culture. Therefore, it was fairly widespread. There are several features in this culture which appear foreign—pit-dwellings, dog burials, bone tool forms, rectangular perforated stone knives. We have nothing like these elsewhere in India. On the other hand, each of these features are found in the Chinese neolithic,[6] specially of the Amur valley. On the other hand, the ceramic industry is distinctive and not Chinese. The Burzahom culture had links with others in India, and S. C. Malik has collected these instances.[7] Kashmir-type stone celts and ringstones have been found in the Karnataka or South Indian neolithic sites. They also appear near Harappa and at Attock in the Indus Valley. Thus, the Burzahom culture, with its close links with the Chinese neolithic, apparently through Central Asia, had also associations with such far-away places as the Karnataka sites.

(d) *South India*

There were three phases of this culture—2300 to 1800 B.C., 1800 to 1500 B.C. and 1400 to 1000 B.C. The sites, in Karnataka, were at Utnur, Piklihal, Brahmagiri, Maski, Sanganakallu, Tekalakota, Hallur etc. As time goes by, bronze and copper objects appear, of a Northern type. Among these are perforated vessels, and the practice of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

roughening the outer surface of vessels after the pre-Harappan Baluchi manner. Northern type spouts also make their first appearance.

All three phases show a remarkable continuity. The cultivation was apparently on hill terraces, as is done even today by tribes like the Badaga of the Nilgiris. It apparently did not spread to the black cotton soil, which at the first rains become sticky and too heavy to work without a plough. Cattle bones of humped cattle, goat and sheep are numerous, and split and cut bones occur commonly, indicating that these were all used for food.[8]

Human figurines are rare, and those known are male, often with long staffs. This indicates pastoralism, and Mortimer Wheeler calls the culture as those of "herdsmen, anchored by a rudimentary agriculture".[9] The ash-mounds associated with this culture are thought to indicate periodical burnings of accumulated cow-dung within cattle pens. Even today such bonfires are lit at festival times, and cattle driven through as prophylactic against disease. I. Karthikeya Sarma and B. P. Singh seen to connect the Pongal and the Deepavali with such festivals.[10]

The Southern neolithic appears to have several connections with the North—the grey burnished ware of the Burzahom type, and also with broad similarity with that of Hissar, Turang Tepe and Shah Tepe in north-eastern Iran. The red or black painted ware shows still greater affinity with the north-west, with the pre-Harappan pottery of Baluchistan and the Indus system. In the earliest phase there are ring feet and hollow pedestals, recalling those of pre-Harappan Amri or Kalibangan. Then come northern type spouts and Baluchi type roughening of the outer surface of vessels. The terra cotta humped bulls and birds are also Indusian.[11] The presence of *bos indcus* (zebu) as a dominant trait suggests initial north-western influence.[12] The human physical type found in graves is also 'Caucasoid' or 'Mediterranean' in all cases.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Thus there is obvious connection with the north-west, but the intermediate links cannot be traced except in the third phase (1400-1000 B.C.), when a new pottery with purple paint, akin to the Jorwe were of Maharashtra is found.

On the other hand, the chief grains, the finger millet (*ragi*) and bullrush millet (*bajra*) were first cultivated in Africa and wild varieties are not known in India. *Bajra* came to the Indus Valley about 2500 B.C. Because of this, and the absence of clear links with the north-west, K. V. Soundara Rajan suggests that the southern neolithic was "strongly autochthonous and entrenched in the lower Deccan".[13] There also appears to have been a northward movement of this ground stone-axe culture.[14] Thus, on balance, strong north-western influences, autochthonous elements and East African contacts all seem to be involved.

Sometime after 1000 B.C. we find three a simultaneous occurences all over South India, viz.

(i) megalithic burials;
(ii) use of iron;
(iii) predominance of a Black-and-Red Ware.

The sites extend over the whole Peninsula. This culture will be dealt with more in chapter 9, but the megalithic is everywhere associated with agriculture. It was intrusive, from Iran, and apparently connected with the historic Dravidian-speakers (this will also be dealt with in Chapter 9). In all the sites one is struck with the thinness of the occupation levels, showing that the intruders could have been only few in number.[15] The sites were always near pools of water from where fields could be cultivated—the beginnings of the southern practice of "tank irrigation".[16] The people grew horse-gram, green gram and *ragi*, and later the cultivation of rice spread. Bones of humped cattle, goats, sheep, buffaloes, fowl, deer and tortoise have been found.[17] Thus, the people had a rich and varied meat diet.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(e) *East India*

The Eastern Neolithic is characterised by a special kind of toolstone shouldered hoes, small shoulered adzes with angular outline, as well as ground axes of rounded form. They are found in the Garo and Cachar Hills, Bengal, Bihar and places in Orissa. To the west stray specimens have been found in Banda and Mirzapur districts of southern Uttar Pradesh, near Allahabad, and as far west as Chitor in Rajasthan.[18]

The people of the eastern neolithic grew rice and made excellent tools and weapons of bone and wood. The tools and weapons do not occur elesewhere in India, but are found abundantly in South East Asia and South China—the Bac-Sonian north of Hanoi, the Somrong Sen of Cambodia and Annam, over a wide stretch from Hongkong to the northern provinces of Kwangsi and Szechwan, as well as in Malaya, Sumatra and Borneo.[19]

The Allchins thought that the Eastern Neolithic "may be of unexpected antiquity".[20] A dating of 2500-2000 B.C. is suggested by the Chirand and Sonpur finds, and there is growing evidence that in Meghalaya at least the culture came from Thailand across Burma.[21]

(f) *Spread of the neolithic and the chalcolithic from the Harappan area*

When the Harappan civilization declined, it appears that groups of leaders, perhaps a new kind of people (we shall deal with this point in a later chapter), along with Harappan technologists, expanded to the south and east by stages and organised what S.C. Malik calls the "incorporation of indigenous non-Harappan societies into the Harappan peasant-urban system".[22] The diffusion was southerly to the Banas river and east to Malwa ; it met a stream from ci-devant colonial Saurashtra. The two streams then merged and flowed into Maharashtra and the Deccan, and across Central India to Bengal, and possibly Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu also, in the latter two

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

areas relatively faintly. The regions and the periods involved are given in the chart below :

Sites	*Period involved*
1. *Saurashtra*	
Desalpur, Rojadi, Somnath (Prabhas Patan), Rangpur, Mehgam, Telod, Bhagatrav.	2100 B.C. to 1000 B.C.
2. *South-East Rajasthan*	
(Banas Valley) Ahar, Gilund.	1800 B.C. to 1000 B.C.
3. *Malwa*	
Nagda, Kayatha, Navdatoli	2000 B.C. to 1000 B.C.
4. *Maharashtra*	
Bahurupa, Prakash, Bahal, Jorwe, Daimabad, Nevasa, Chandoli, Sonegaon.	1700 B.C. to 1000 B.C.
5. *Central India*	
Eran, Tripuri	1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.
6. *West Bengal*	
Pandu Rajar Dhibi, Mahisadal.	After 1400 B.C. to 700 B.C.
7. *South*	
Patpad (Krishna Valley), Gaurimedu, Mangalam.	Not dated, probably like West Bengal ?

Thus, a gradual eastward shift from the Indus Valley and Saurashtra, across Malwa, Maharashtra and Central India to West Bengal, with a few thrusts south, along the eastern coast, is discernible. A common feature of all these cultures is what is known as the Black-and-Red pottery,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

often with white-painted designs. There is a hiatus in most cases round about 1000 B.C., after which iron occurs, apparently signifying conquest by an iron-using people.

(g) *The "Copper Hoard" Culture of the Gangetic Valley: its comparative lateness*

The Harappan civilization, apparently by "stimulus diffusion", also brought into existence an extensive "copper hoard" culture in the Gangetic Valley. For the first time we have a mentionable culture here, from about 1400 B.C., about 2000 years later than the north-west, and 1000 compared to Kashmir, South India and East India. It was in the nature of a "response" to the Harappan "challenge" to use Toynbee's vivid imagery.

We know about the Copper Hoards and the accompanying Ochre Coloured Pottery largely due to the persistence and acumen of B. B. Lal, who excavated many sites in the Gangetic Valley since 1951. Broadly, the sites can be divided into two—the Doab Hoards and the Eastern Group, each accounting for about half of the total finds, but the former is richer in the number of types. The time and pottery sequence is broadly as indicated below:

Ganges-Jumna Doab

(1)	Hastinapur	Ochre Coloured Pottery 1400-1000 B.C. Then Painted Grey Ware and iron.
(2)	Alamgirpur	
(3)	Atranji-Khera	Ochre Coloured Pottery 1400-1100 B.C. Then Black-and-Red Ware to 1000 B.C. Then Painted Grey Ware and iron.
(4)	Ahichchatra	Ochre Coloured pottery 1400-1150 B.C. Then Black and Red Ware 1150-1000 B.C. Then Painted Grey Ware and iron.
(5)	Noh	

Intermediate

(6)	Sravasti	Broadly same sequence as Ahichchatra and Noh.
(7)	Kausambi	

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Middle Ganges

(8)	Rajghat	Black and Red Ware from 1100 B.C. Iron after 800 B.C.
(9)	Prahladpur	Black and Red Ware from 1000 B.C. Iron after 800 B.C.
(10)	Chirand	Black and Red Ware from 1000 B.C. Iron after 800 B.C.
(11)	Sonpur	Black and Red Ware from 900 B.C. Iron after 800 B.C.

Painted Grey Ware and iron also occur at Harappa and Rupar, a Harappan site, after 1000 B.C. The conclusion seems to follow that while a group of leaders, with Harappan technologists, went down the Banas Valley and Malwa, to Maharashtra, and across Central India to West Bengal, with the Black-and-Red Ware as their hallmark, another similar group went to the Gangetic Valley, creating the Ochre Coloured Pottery—Copper Hoard cultural complex. The Black-and-Red Ware people also thrust northwards, from the Narbada, into the whole of the Gangetic Valley, except the extreme western portion. All these cultures, Black-and-Red Ware, and Ochre Coloured Pottery, were apparently subjugated by a people using Painted Grey Ware and iron from about 1000 B.C. onwards.

The copper tools included axes, antennae swords, anthropomorphic figures, daggers and harpoons. These apparently grew out of a mixture of Harappan, local and foreign traditions. This point will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Apart from tool-types and pottery, the terracotta figurines of the humped bull, terracotta cakes and toy wheel carts in the Ochre Coloured Pottery assemblage at Ambakheri indicate Harappan associations.[23] In the Ochre Coloured Pottery-Copper Hoard sites no buildings or other types of remnants have been found. No site except Ambakheri appears to have been under constant occupation for any great length of time. They appear to have been camping stations of a people always on the move.[24]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Extensive Nature of the Neolithic Cultures: Their Criss-Crossing

Thus we see that the country was fully covered with neolithic sites by about 1000 B.C. They also interacted with each other. S. C. Malik has collected details of such culture contacts (*Indian Civilization: The formative period,* Simla, 1968, pp. 88-91), but we do not go into the details here. The Harappan, we have just seen, stimulated into existence a large number of neolithic centres in West, Central and Eastern India. The Kashmir Neolithic influenced Karnataka, as we have seen. We have also seen the Karnataka ground stone-axe culture moving northwards to Maharashtra. The Eastern Neolithic and the Gangetic Hoards criss-crossed with each other. And the Classical Dravidian interacted with North East India, as certain burial types,[25] pottery techniques,[26] megalithic practices[27] and customs like the use of shell ornaments indicate.[28] Obviously there were thrusts of the Dravidian-speakers to Bengal.

This aspect of criss-crossing of cultures will be further dealt with, from the racial and linguistic angle, in the chapter on race and language. (chapter 11).

Values and Institutions of Matrifocal Agricultural Socieities : Woman's Pre-Eminence.

It is difficult to believe now that women were pre-eminent in any human society. But reference has already been made to the Tchambuli society, where Margaret Mead found that women dominated over the men. It is not difficult to visualise how such dominance arose in agricultural societies.

Women, who had been digging for roots with sticks, for over 30,000 years by then, had quite naturally amassed the necessary botanical knowledge for the agricultural revolution. Also, staying behind while the men went hunting, tending the fire and roasting and grilling, they knew more about the properties of fire when in contact with various substances. It is they, therefore, who naturally invented pottery, making it at first on the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

model of the baskets which they had woven earlier from vegetable fibres. Dealing with vegetable fibres as well as skins led them to the discovery of textiles, spinning, and weaving. And, continuously handling cereals and fruits, and storing them over long periods, they learnt the secrets of fermentation. Their knowledge of the properties of various herbs made them the first doctors, wise women, whom later, more masculine-oriented cultures turned to witches.

There is no written evidence of the transformation of the physical environment by women, but the archaeological and anthropological testimony is clear. Pottery was used mainly to store cereals, apparently cultivated by women with the hoe. Voevodski is supposed to have recognised prints of women's fingers on prehistoric pots.[29] Regarding fermentation, a pre-Dynastic Egyptian tomb has yielded a pottery model of a woman treading the mash in a fermentation vat.[30] In the field of textiles, the earliest representation of a loom comes from a pottery dish in a woman's tomb at Badari, Egypt, circa 4000 B.C.,[31] showing that spinning and weaving were feminine occupations. Models found at Deir-el-Bahri and Beni Hasan in Egypt in later periods depict clearly the role of women in preparing the flax for weaving. Weaving and spinning, like cooking, have been traditional women's work in all societies.

Another strong presumptive evidence of feminine pre-eminence is the widespread existence of female figurines moulded in clay, or carved in stone or bone, in all early farming societies.[32] Man identified woman with the earth, and its fertility, and worshipped her in the form of a goddess. He would not have done so in such an elaborate manner unless she was pre-eminent in actual life itself. The male was everywhere a minor partner. Only phalli of clay and stone stood beside the Great Goddess. In many places such goddess figures are accompained by megaliths, which are supposed to represent the womb, and the crouched position of many of the burials contained in them has been supposed to be in the foetal position in which the dead must wait rebirth.[33]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Anthropology supports archaeology. We shall soon list the important matrilineal societies existing till yesterday. In all these societies women were economically and socially more important than men. Economic wealth, from primitive hoe culture, was in their hands, as well as trading, while the men hunted and fished. Basket-making, pottery, alcoholic fermentation, spinning and weaving were all women's preserves. Gordon Childe has called this the "economic matriarchate", an idea approved by Soviet scientists, who consider the mother to be the *de facto* head of the primitive matriarchal clan. Widespread legends of early feminine social superiority lend support to such a postulate. Robert Briffault has collected these in his three-volume *The Mothers*. Few, if any, believe today that there ever was matriarchy in the extreme form surmised by J. Bachofen in his *Das Mutterrecht*. (1861). But the influence which goes with an economically superior position can hardly, in the face of all the circumstantial evidence, be denied.

The societies coming under this stage were peasant village ones, loosely connected with each other physically, but culturally homogeneous in neighbouring tracts.

Such societies, with feminine pre-eminence, existed till recently all over the world :

In India : Nairs of Kerala ; the Navayat of Kanara ; the Khasi, Garo, Synteng of Assam.

Sporadically in Indo-China, South China, Malaysia (Negri Sembilan) ; and the Minangka-bau of Sumatra.

In Africa : four centres—Lower Congo to the Lower Zambesi ; the Gold Coast and Ivory Coast of West Africa and the Ashanti of Upper Guinea ; some Sudan families ; North Africa, from Kordofan and North Abyssinia to Benja, and among the Berbers and Tuaregs.

In North America : the Iroquois in the east, and the Pueblo (Hopi, Yuma, Tewa etc.) of the south west ; in Middle America, the Chibcha (leading families), Tarsac, Mixtec, Zapotec, Mixe and Zoque ; and in South America, the Yruro of Venezuela, the Arak, Kechua, Aymara, Gezand, Bororo of Brazil.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Micronesia: the Malau and in the Central Carolines.
Socio-Economic Mode of Life:

Peasant village, hoe-culture by women initially.

Prevailing Ethos (Consciousness III)—Earth-bound; tied to rituals and superstitions, mainly of a fertility nature, centring round goddesses; rigid adherence to traditions. Key Word—Domesticity.

Basic Attitudes

1. *Science and Technology*	
1. Thinking	Mythopoeia. Pre-logical.
2. Teachers	Wise women as thought leaders.
2. *Economics*	
3. Working	Women alone in agriculture initially. Men, out of conservatism, continue in hunting.
3. *Family and society*	
4. Relations with Fellow Men	Secret societies for women and for men separately. Male jealousy of women's superiority.
5. Man and woman	Pre-eminence of women in all fields. Women take the initiative in courting and love-making. Husbands only as consorts, or fathers of children.
6. Hierarchy	Rule of chieftainesses and women. Men only assistants.
4. *Politics, administration, military affairs*	
7. Duty Sense	Rigid adherence to custom, traditions, rituals, remembered and interpreted by wise women.
8. Fighting spirit	Pacifism.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

9. "In-group"/ "Out-group"	Tribes and families descended from a common mother—survived even to later patriarchal times. For instance, in Jewry, the Levites, descended from Leah.
5. *Ideology*	
10. Epistemology	Knowledge through intuition, specially of wise women.
11. Metaphysics	Woman as earth-mother, fertility of earth through women.
12. Theology	Mother Goddess all-powerful.
13. Eschatology	Death and resurrection, like plants being sowed, reaped, sowed again from seeds.
14. Ethics	Passive resignation to the whims and caprices of the Mother Goddess and absolute and unquestioning surrender to her.
6. *Culture*	
15. Gregariousness	Women's role more important.
16. Eating and Drinking	Great leap forward. Cooking and fermentation discovered by women.
17. Artistic Life	Priority of themes appealing to women—fertility plays.
18. Attitude to the Past	Rigid traditionalism .

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Social Values and Institutions

	Values and Ideas	*Institutions*
1. Science and Technology	Mythopoeia, secret knowledge, vested in women.	Wise women, slash and burn hoe agriculture/ basket - making/pottery / cooking / fermentation/spinning and weaving, all controlled and operated by women.
2. Economics	Small-scale operations, intimate, within eye-sight of the mothers.	Economic matriarchate; peasant villages; village communes; trade by women.
3. Family and Society	Pre-eminence of women	Women arrange marriages; visit marriages (men visiting women in their homes); cross-cousin marriages; marriage choice allowed to both partners; girls often actively arrange their own marriages, elope, or allow themselves to be kidnapped. Pre-marital sex relations allowed. Initiation ceremonies for girls. Boys and men in secret societies, head-hunting to prove their prowess. Youth dormitories and club houses, sexual intercourse permitted. Mother-right; matrilineal system; property, movable and immovable , vested in women.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

4. Politics/ administration/ Military affairs	Pre-eminence of women. Small units. Usually pacifism.	Chieftainesses; women war-leaders, and women's regiments (e.g. Dahomey). Often executive power in men, but deciding administrative power in women.
5. Religious ideas.	Earth fertile, yielding crops/women fertile, yielding children/ women's period/ moon's periods— so earth, women, moon all interconnected.	Mother goddess cult; village goddesses; fertility rites—bloody sacrifices; megaliths, sacrificial pillars as signs of the phallus. Tree of Heaven as a goddess. Moon cults; horn of cow like crescent moon, so cow cults. Two sons —Bright Moon, friend of growth, and Dark Moon, enemy of growth. Creation and Destruction, Life and Resurrection.
6. "Culture"	Women's role and feminine themes important.	Masked fertility plays. Women artists.

The generalised picture has been obtained from Father Stephen Fuchs' book already referred to. These features exist in India. Several others have been described by Baron Omar Rolf Ehrenfels in his book *Mother-Right in India* (Hyderabad, 1941). Some of these are listed below:

(i) Matrilocal marriage/Young wife's return to her parents' house for her first confinement. (ii) The son-in-law in the bride's house—*ghar-jamai, gardi jawae, ghar-damad, khan-damad* or *nokrong* (Assam). (iii) Fraternal polyandry. (iv) Bride-price. (v) Serving or service marriage. (vi) Cross-cousin marriage in different forms.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(vii) Small-pox goddess or the goddess of any other contagious disease. (viii) Temple dancers, like Basavis and Devadasis, originally positions of great honour, as L. A. Ananthakrishna Iyer has pointed out.[35] (iv) Priestesses. (x) Prominence of decapitation in animal sacrifices.

Thus, the Socio-Economic Mode of Life, Prevailing Ethos, Basic Attitudes and Values and Institutions of the Matrifocal Agricultural stage are the same all over the world, cutting across national boundaries. The key-word for this stage is DOMESTICITY as that of the Food-gathering one is PEACEFULNESS.

The high position of women became depressed in societies dominated by Early Technologists and Warrior Nomads, as women's contributions were practically nil in such societies. Women came to be depressed more and more and their position was not high in Theocratic, Theo-Aristocratic ("Feudal") and Theo-Mercantile cultures. With the Rational-Mercantile stage cudgels were taken up by them and on their behalf, culminating in the "Women's Liberation" movement in the present Scientific-Democratic stage. But their depression took time and survivals of their early pre-eminence are seen in literature and in certain continuing customs.

Some Instances of Matrilineal Culture in Ancient Indian Literature

One of the signs of matrilineal culture is cross-cousin marriage. We have evidence of this in Pali literature. Irawati Karve points out that there are references not only to cross-cousin marriages, but also to marriages between brothers and sisters.[36] This was also known in ancient Iran. In some versions of the Pali *Ramayana,* Sita was Rama's sister as well as wife. Pali literature also gives a genealogy of Buddha different from that given in Sanskrit texts. Przyluski proves the Buddha to have belonged to the ".....meme clan que sa tante maternelle Gautami"; and on the Bharhut *stupa,* the donors are sometimes mentioned by the mother's *gotra.*[37]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Present-Day Matrifocal Societies in India

There are two regions in India where mother-right traces are still strong in spite of patriarchal encrustations, although weakening. These are Kerala (the Nayars) and Meghalaya (the Khasis and the Garos). These societies are not described here, but a few of their prominent values and institutions are brought out.

The Khasis of Assam are matrilocal and matrilineal. The Khasi clans trace descent from a female ancestress, *ki jawlei tynrei,* mother of the root.[38] Husbands live with their wives in the mother-in law's house, or with their own mothers, visiting their wives. Children are known by their mothers, their fathers being only "begetters". Property passes through females, the youngest daughter getting the lion's share (the minorate). The titular head of the clan is *ka siem sad,* but now she is mainly a high priestess, and administrative powers are exercised by a male relative. Patriarchal traits are continuously increasing, due to surrounding influence. The creative force in religion is female, as is the Original Human Being—*ka mei ka nong hukum.* (It is *ka mei ka,* Sanskritised, which became Kamakhya, the place with the famous temple near Gauhati). Head-hunting and human sacrifice were once practised.

The Garos are another matrifocal people. The clan, the *machong,* is matriarchal, but not fully so, patriarchal influences having seeped in. Thus, the members of the bear clan are known after the husband of the ancestress, a brown bear, and not after her directly. Inheritance is through daughters, the youngest inheriting the family house, but men have a greater say in property matters than among the Khasis. Although the male has greater influence among the Garos than among the Khasis, the Garo bridegroom has to await his bride for a proposal, and if she comes personally, has to hide himself! Ehrenfels thinks that the Garos were formerly patrilineal, but adopted a superior matrifocal cultivating culture. Some of their patrilineal customs, like the bride being shy before the bridegroom, then became inverted.[39] The chief deity

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

is female, *Tatara Rabuga*, as are several others, many of them disease goddesses. There is the megalithic buffalo-sacrifice, and there was, at one time, human sacrifice also. Head-hunting was practised as late as 1876.[40]

Another area of matrifocal culture still surviving in some form is Kerala, mainly among the Nayars. But here also patriarchal influences are becoming stronger day by day.

The Nayars lived in villas or palaces, scattered all over Kerala, surrounded by trees and gardens and fields, where servants and serfs worked for them. The family was matrilineal, arranged in what is known as the *tarawad* or joint-family household. The manager was the brother of the eldest female, and was known as the *karnavan*. Men lived in the houses of their mothers and only visited their wives. The bond between brothers and sisters and uncles and nephews and nieces was intense. The uncle was particularly honoured, and the *amma champattu*, the maternal uncle's song, is sung at marriages. A woman could have more than one husband in the system of visit marriages which prevailed. The priestly and patriarchal Nambudiri Brahmans restricted marriage to the eldest sons. The others had visit marriages with Nayar women. The puberty rites of a girl, the *thirandukuli*, are important, as in all matrilineal societies. This matrilineal or *marumakka-thayam* system uplifted women. The system was not wholly matrifocal in values in the sense that the Nayars were a fighting people, ruling over groups less matriarchally organised, like the Cheruman or the Pulayan. Whatever their ultimate origin, they were completely Hinduised and Brahmanised (i.e. patriarchalised) from the time when records are available. Some matrifocal traces, however, remain. Bhumi Devi, Mother Earth, is supposed to rest during the hot period of the year and to undergo a sort of menstruation at that time. To her, the great *Ucharal* festival of the Nayars is dedicated, in January-February, after the harvest is over. The serpent cult is widely prevalent and *nagakottas* or serpent-chapels and serpent-groves adjoin all Nayar houses. The serpent cult, according to many anthropologists, is indicative of a neolithic/matri-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

focal culture, the sliding serpent being like a stream of water, or the phallus, both fertilising mother earth. At funerals men were reported to wear female dress, a possible pointer to the religious activity of women in bygone days. In the great July procession, the "Saturnalia of Kerala", megalithic cultural elements obtain, mud is thrown about, and sacrificed cocks and goats are cut to pieces. Originally, in all such rites, all over the world, the cut pieces were taken by farmers and buried in their fields.

Submerged Matrifocal Culture Elements in Patriarchal India

Although the areas outside those mentioned in the preceding section are patriarchal, matrifocal culture traits peep out of the encrustation.

In the rest of South India there are widespread matrifocal traces, which led in historic times to the difference between the freedom of movement of southern women as compared to the *purdah* or *semi-purdah* bound existence of their northern and eastern sisters, who were much more under the influence of Turkish-Islamic patriarchal ideas. Ehrenfels has compiled a "caste-register" of over 200 castes, mainly in the South, showing matrilineal traces.[41] A few instances are selected at random and given here. The Banjaras have puberty rites for girls, widows are permitted to marry, divorce is allowed to women, there is serving marriage for men, cross-cousin marriages, the mother-goddess is prominent etc. The Baiga have the bride-price and the serving marriage. The Syrian Christians are also matrilineal, the maternal uncle is very important, and there is the bride-price. Among the Gadabas of Visakhapatnam there is the levirate (marriage with the elder brother's widow) serving marriages, megaliths, the mother goddess is prominent. The Telugu speaking Komati have traces of matrilineality, the maternal uncle is important, as is the mother goddess, there are puberty rites, the bride-price, and cross-cousin marriages. The Khonds (of Orissa) have cross-cousin marriages and the maternal uncle is important. The Lingayats have puberty rites for girls,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

widow marriage, the bride-price and cross-cousin marriages. (widow remarriage was a conscious reform of the founder, Basava, but there must have been plenty of support for it, due to the persistence of matrifocal traditions). The patriarchal Moslem Mappilas of North Malabar are also matrilineal. The great worker caste of South India, the Parayan, have puberty rites for girls, cross-cousin marriages, and the maternal uncle is important, as are megalithic survivals. The Pulayan-Cheruman of Kerala are partly matrilineal, the maternal uncle is important, there is the bride-price, widow marriage, the importance of the mother goddess, puberty rites for girls etc. Among the Reddis we have puberty rites for girls, the bride price, widow marriage etc. The Vokkaligas of Mysore have relics of matrilineality, and the bride-price obtains. The Vellalas of the Tamil country have also traces of matrilineality, the maternal uncle is important, there are puberty rites for girls etc.

In East India there are strong traces of matrilinealism throughout, in Bihar, Orissa, Assam and Bengal. Women, naked, participates, or used to participate, in rain making ceremonies.[42] In Bengal matrifocal forces are particularly strong in spite of the restrictive patriarchalism imposed by the ancestors of the present-day upper castes. In Bengal goddesses—Durga, Kali, Saraswati, Lakshmi, Jagadhatri, Manasa are everywhere more prevalent than male deities. This is indeed, the land of Shakti, of Mother goddess worship. The girls used to have their first menstruation ceremonies. Heine-Geldren traces associations between a primitive mother-right head-hunting with the Kali-Durga complex.[43] The old submereged tradition of mother-right had possibly something to do with the vanished stories of heroic women fighters of Bengal (some are found in Subodh Ghosh's *Kimvadantir Deshey*—In The Land of Legends), queens and others, the kin of Chandi, whom Helene Rowlands calls "une deesse guerriere".

Irawati Karve has pointed out the existence of cross-cousin marriages in Maharashtra (more in the south than the north), Gujarat, Rajasthan and Orissa.[44] In North

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

India a very important matrifocal survival is the immensely popular *Holi* festival, a Saturnalia akin to the carnivals of the Mediterranean area, and having a similar origin in agricultural fertility rites.

Even in the north-west, severely patriarchalised by Aryans, Shakas, White Huns, Turks, Moghuls etc. traces of matrilinealism survive. For instance, the Chauhar Gujars call themselves after the Gujar wife of a Rajput ancestor. Place names are also indicative of the importance of former matrifocal centres e.g. Amba-la, Shyamala (Simla), Chandi-garh etc. The Dravidian-speaking Brahuis (Brohis) of Baluchistan, who are Muslims, pronounce the *Kalma* in an altered from in some secret societies (*zikris*) —"There are no gods, beside the ONE and the mother of Mohammed is his prophet".[45] The position of the mother's brother and the express renunciation by the Brahui mother, before the funeral, of the rights to a dead child are also matrifocal survivals.[46]

The Widespread Nature of Matrifocal Culture Survivals in Religion

From the preceding sections of this chapter it will be seen that archaeology and anthropology testify to the widespread nature of the neolithic sites (matrifocal societies) and of the traces of matrilineal culture in India. This comes out in the religious field also—in *Holi* (a saturnalia, basically fertility celebrations), in the worship of village goddesses, and in the Shakti and Tantra cults, the origins of which must go back to those pre-historic times.

The worship of village-goddesses, *gram-devis,* is prevalent all over India. They are often disease goddesses, protectresses against small-pox, cholera etc. Such are the Southern Mariamma and The Seven Ammas (Seven Mothers). The cult of these goddesses is rich and complicated. Animals, chiefly cocks, are decapitated and sacrificed. Even some Muslims, and formerly food-gathering tribes like the Oraons and the Santals, venerate these goddesses. Generically, she is known simply as "Devi" or

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

"goddess", and is worshipped as such by the Rajputs, who consecrate their swords to her. The patron deity of Chitor was a goddess, and Shivaji consecrated his sword to Amba Bhavani. This Devi, the same as Durga, is basically a fertility goddess, and one of her names "Sakambhari" ("Herb-bearing" or "Plant-bearing") brings this out clearly. D. P. Chattopadhyaya interprets an Indus seal (not all agree with him, however) to be that of Sakambhari.[47] Here there is a horned deity, whom Chattopadhyaya thinks to be female, with seven attendants, apparently priestesses, and a bull. The circumstantial evidence seems to favour Chattopadhyaya, as we shall see in Chapter 13.

Matrifocal Legacy in India Compared with that in Japan and in West Europe

It would be instructive to compare the matrifocal legacy in India with that of Japan and of West Europe. We get pictures of the latter two from standard works of archaeology and history. A sub-neolithic is supposed to have gone to Japan, from the Chinese Mainland, in the 3rd millennium B.C., while the warriors, with their *haniwa* figures in the tombs of the *misasagi* heroes, came about, the 3rd-4th century A.D. The long period of feminine pre-eminence had its effect in early Japanese culture, and indeed, the Chinese called Japan "the Queen Country". The subjugation of Japanese women really began from the 13th century A.D., in the Kamakura period of Japanese history, but it was carried out most effectively and thoroughly.

In West Europe peasants from the Eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia began to stream up the Danube from 4500 B.C. Another group of matrifocal peasants, the megalith people, spread out from Malta all over the maritime provinces from about 2500 B.C. A third group, neolithic-chalcolithic, spread out from Iberia from about 2300 B.C., and a fourth, also neolithic-chalcolithic, and also from Iberia, from about 1800 B.C. Around about this time also came in hordes of warrior aristocrats from the Russian steppes, and put a stop to feminine pre-eminence. Thus,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

although matrifocal ideas did not originate in Europe, it was under their influence, specially South Europe, for nearly 3000 years. By contrast, India was subject to matrifocal ideas, before the warriors came, for about 1400 years, say from about 3200 B.C. to 1800 B.C., in the North West. In other areas the period was even shorter. But in the latter the subjection to warrior nomad influence was also much less than in the north-west, where the technically and military superior Aryans, Shakas, Hunas, Turks, Pathans and Moghuls overwhelmed matrifocal ideas and submerged them, as in Japan. Where these warriors went later and in lesser numbers, e.g. Bengal, matrifocal ideas are stronger. In the south the technically superior iron-using people who set themselves up as overlords were themselves basically matrifocal megalith builders. Hence, matrifocal values were not submerged there to that extent, in spite of strong patriarchal influences radiating from the north.

The net upshot is that matrifocal ideas, although submerged everywhere, can be expected to be stronger in South Europe, East India and South India than in North West India and even Gangetic Valley, Japan and Central and North Europe. Hence, the Western woman, and the Japanese woman, in spite of their many qualifications, are still denied equal pay for equal work, and have a less higher position in politics, in contradistinction to her less qualified sisters in those places, like India, where the substratum of matrilineal ideas is more pervading.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 8

STAGE 4—EARLY TECHNOLOGISTS

THE WORLD MATRIX

ARCHAEOLOGY POINTS to metallurgy having originated in one place, in the region of North Eastern Iran and beyond on both sides, from the Taurus mountains in Turkey to the Caspian Sea. Ores and fuels of all kinds were found here in abundance, a concatenation not found elsewhere.[1] From this region the knowledge of metallurgy spread all round with itinerant smiths, who were welcomed in peaceful peasant societies either as magic-men or wizards, or in warrior societies as travelling artisans and technicians.[2] They settled in many places, giving rise to many centres. And each centre, in time, evolved in its own way. In warrior societies they continued to be smiths and technicians. Others, like Egypt, they seized control of, because of their supposedly magic powers, *hike* (in Ancient Egypt, the same meaning as religion), by which they awed credulous peasants and their women rulers,[3] very much like the scientist in Mark Twain's *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*. In all societies they organised themselves in guilds, keeping their knowledge secret. It is these guilds which apparently developed priestly buildings, such as the ziggurats of Sumeria, which make their appreance along with metallurgy. In sequence, we find there wheeled vehicles, brick and terra-cotta work, fresco-painting, cylinder seals, pictographic writing in the Al-Ubaid (4000-3500 B.C.), Uruk (3500-3200 B.C.) and Jemdet Nasr (3200-2800 B.C.) periods—the Ubaid and Jemdet Nasr people are supposed to have gone from Iran and the Uruk people from Anatolia, to Mesopotamia. But in no phase do we find traces of violence. Thus, the infiltrations were peaceful and *charisma,* rather than the sword, was used for control. One has to conclude also that the early technologists developed into theo-technocrats, discovering and inventing largely by rule of thumb, with

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

their intellects still enveloped in pre-logical beliefs, and determined to use such beliefs to keep away the ordinary people from their precious secrets. The monopolisation of knowledge thus began.

The spread of chalcolithic cultures (early technologists) was something as given below:

6th millennium B.C.

Origin of copper mining in N.E. Iran and beyond, from the Taurus to the Caspian.

5th millennium B.C.

Copper used as stone in Sialk II (near Kashan in Iran)

4th millennium B.C.

Copper is cast in Sialk III/Anau I B (Central Asia)/ Al-Ubaid in Mesopotamia (the Al-Ubaid people were from Iran)[4]. First appearance of copper in India—Kili Ghul Mohammad III, about 3200 B.C., although in most of North West India it came only in the 3rd millennium B.C.

3rd millennium B.C.

Metallurgy came to Egypt in the Gerzean period, about a thousand years after it had appeared in Mesopotamia.[5] From there it spread to Crete. From Central Asia and Iran the knowledge of metallurgy spread to Asia Minor, and thence to the Danube Valley and Central Europe. From the Central European mines it radiated to Sweden, the British Isles, North East Russia, France, and Italy. In India, the pre-Indus cultures, inspired from Iran, were chalcolithic.

2nd millennium B.C.

Spread to China through Central Asia (the Shang bronzes). Spread from the Indus Valley to Western and Central India, the Deccan, and the Gangetic plains.

1st millennium B.C.

Spread, from China, to South East Asia (the Dongson bronzes).

3rd century B.C.

Spread to Japan (the Yayoi people).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

North America never learnt the use of copper tools, except that of beaten copper, and this rarely. The same was the case with the Mayas. Metallurgy seems to have been practised in the Peruvian cultures only from the 5th-6th century A.D.

Apart from the discovery of metallurgical processes, there were other epoch-making discoveries and inventions between 6000 and 3000 B.C., as follows :

(i) principle of the wheel ; (ii) domestication of transport animals ; (iii) wheeled transport ; (iv) potter's wheel ; (v) calendar for agricultural purposes, based on star lore ; (vi) the plough (which was too heavy for the woman, who worked with the hoe ; agriculture now became masculinised, robbing woman of a great source of importance) ; (vii) orchard husbandry ; (viii) bricks for building ; (ix) seals for private property ; (x) sail-boats.

We need not go into details about these discoveries and inventions. But obviously they constituted a major breakthrough in mastery over the physical environment. Perhaps the force behind was the freedom from intellectual shackles in breaking loose from the mother-society, and going to mountain mines, away from all restrictions, to a milieu where the maximum impetus could be given to free thought. Trade and free mingling among peoples with different ideas and customs and constant negotiations with them undoubtedly helped in this intellectual freedom and sharpened the brain.

All these discoveries were made by men.[6] Woman now lost the economic and, therefore, social and political importance which she had in primitive agricultural societies. Engels has called this "the great historical defeat of the feminine sex".

Spread in India : Its Weakness

The neolithic-chalcolithic cultures which spread to India were comparatively weak on the chalcolithic side. Thus, copper and bronz items are comparatively rare in Kalibangan, to give an example. About the Harappan, or Indusian, this will be dealt with in Chapter 13, but it may

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

be said straightaway that it was amazingly weak technologically. However it was the best that we had and it was this which spread the knowledge of metallurgy and copper and bronze tools to North, Middle, West and East India. In the Banas Valley copper axes and other copper objects are numerous (from 1800 B.C.). Indeed, copper is mined there locally even today. In Malwa we have copper tools from about 1660 B.C. In Maharashtra copper knife blades of the Harappan type occurs from about 1600 B.C. There is also an unburnished ware of the Karnataka neolithic type, and Karnataka-like burials. Spouted and channelled pottery of the Malwa type occur. Apparently Harappan and Malwa technologists were migrating south, while others moved north from Karnataka, meeting here. Instead of the usual Black-and-Red ware we have a Black-and-Grey ware.

In East India the chalcolithic culture is of the Maharashtrian (Jorwe) type, but about 200 years later in time. It is mainly stone tool technology, but there are a number of copper objects, from about 1400 B.C., including fish-hooks.

The Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Valley include axes, antennae swords, anthromorphic figures, daggers and harpoons. The dominant flat axes are reminiscent of Harappa, and also found in the Jorwe phase of Maharashtra, about the same period. There is a second type of axe, with a semi-circular cutting edge and pronounced shoulders. A third type has the cutting edge extended to form two wings, as in the modern *parasu*. The most elaborate type of axe is the "anthropomorphic" one, bearing resemblance to the sacrificial axes used by the Santals of Chota Nagpur. These axes have the sharpening on the rear of the "arms", while the inner sides of the "legs" are left blunt.

We also find spearheads or swords with a solid tang, often with a single barb, probably for hafting, and a blade with mid-rib. In the case of weapons with antennae hilts there is no doubt that they were swords or dirks. They have been found as far south as Kallur in Raichur district.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Another distinctive type is the barbed harpoon, with triangular tip, and three pairs of barbs below. In some cases these are hafted with a tang and single barb, in others with a pierced lug and tang. These again have stout mid-rib and were undoubtedly cast in a mould.

The flat axes with slightly splayed blades are reminiscent of the Indus Valley. So is the shouldered celt. Heine-Geldern sees analogies between the antennae swords with those of the Koban culture in the Caucasus.[7] Other definite foreign features are the mid-rib on the swords, daggers, spears and harpoons, and the pierced lug for hafting, which could have come from the Caucasus *via* Iran.

The inspiration behind the barbed harpoons is undoubtedly autochthonous. We see them in the Mirzapur cave paintings. B. B. Lal has argued that the bar celts are similar to the neolithic stone celts found in the eastern parts of India, implying that the latter served as models. He has suggested that the copper hoards were associated with the "proto-Australoids", represented today by the Mundas and the Santals.[8]

Thus, the three-fold inspiration of the copper hoard tools—Harappan, local and extra-Indian, is obvious. Mortimer Wheeler has wondered about the distribution of the tools over 800 miles of jungle landscape, and because of the skill involved in casting and hammering, come to the conclusion that they were the work of whole-time experts, who were also probably itinerant.[9]

Similar tools have been found in the eastern group of sites, except for harpoons, and atennae swords. This is perhaps significant, implying that soldiers did not penetrate so far east, and only the itinerant smiths did so.

In South India bronze and copper objects appear from about 1800 B.C. There are evidences of contacts with Northern technology. Later, the number of copper and bronze tools increase, but the axe and blade industries in stone continue to dominate till about the 11th century. Then at Hallur there is a horse bone, rock paintings show horses and riders, and at Kallur exotic bronze swords have been found.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

From about 1000 B.C. a megalithic, iron-using people are found in South India. But the chalcolithic remains in South India are, on the whole, poor.

Values and Institutions: Legacy: Comparison with West Europe and Japan

The Early Technologists' Ethos (Consciousness IV) can readily be assumed to have been wide-ranging, prospecting, with rule-of-thumb innovations, and esoteric attitude to knowledge. The technicians were, everywhere in the world, in a microscopic minority. They spread in thin layers, both among tillers, as well as in societies ruled by warriors. The first type of society they seemed to have controlled because of the magic associated with their activities, while in the second they formed small intermediate social groups. But in both, metallurgy and the other great technical discoveries of the age heightened the tempo of activities special to the type of society instead of creating New Values, and Institutions. As the Early Technologists branched off from female-dominated, Matrifocal Agricultural Societies they were anti-feminine, and kept their lore to themselves. This sex-war is a kind of aspect of the class-war.

In India very small groups came, from outside, as we have seen, and spread out thin. There was little scope, therefore, for wide-ranging, prospecting, rule-of-thumb innovations. The tendency was for monopoly of knowledge and its conservation. Absence of competition also made them conservative. It appears that the higher groups of priest-technicians became basically priest-supervisors, the Brahmans, while the lower groups became artisans.

The situation (configuration) may be contrasted with West Europe and Japan. Mining and metallurgy originated, as we have seen, in the region from the Taurus to the Caspian Sea in the 6th millennium B.C. By about 2500 B.C., tin, necessary to make bronze, ran out in West Asia. Prospectors and traders had to go to Europe for tin ores, to Spain, Central Europe, France (Britanny), and Britain (Cornwall).[10] As a result of this a High Bronze culture

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

grew up in Europe from the 16th century B.C. This had to be both technical and mercantile, catering to a sophisticated foreign market. This configuration whetted inventiveness among European smiths and technologists (originally from West Asia) to an exceptional degree. The relatively high incidence of the name of Smith in Britain shows that a large number of technicians found their way to that country. Central Europe also, because of her richness of metals, had relatively large and flourishing mining colonies, worked by technicians from the Eastern Mediterranean.[11] Japan, also relatively richly endowed with copper and tin, was further benefitted by the Chinese and Korean technologists who streamed into that country from Han times, 2nd and 3rd century A.D., along with the *haniwa* war-lords and Chinese culture. By contrast, copper resources are sparsely spread out in India, and tin is practically non-existent. The West Asian prospectors in the 3rd and 2nd millennium B.C., therefore, did not turn to India, as they may have if the minerals in question had been plentiful. Metal technology came to India, therefore, with small groups of neolithic people, as an importation, with little premium on innovation, and everything on preservation and conservatism. Our bronze also was not as hard as much foreign bronze, no doubt because of the paucity of tin. This hardness depends on the tin content; 5% of tin is mild bronze, 15% is hard.[12] The antennae swords and harpoons of the Gangetic Copper Hoards have a tin content ranging only from 6 to 9.5%.[13]

Thus, all in all, our paucity of copper and tin, and, therefore, of technologists made us comparatively weak in the Bronze Age, compared to Europe, and the premium was on preservation and conservatism, not innovation.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

STAGE 5—WARRIOR NOMADS

Thrust of the Arguments

IT IS sought to show that :—

(i) the Warrior Nomadic societies, because of their innovations in the military field, and their warlike qualities, captured all other societies in the world ; (ii) their Values and Institutions were all the same—which they imposed on all societies that they conquered ; (iii) upto about the beginning of the Christian era three waves of warrior nomads came and settled in India—the Bronze-using Aryans, the Iron-using Aryans, and the Iron-using Dravidians ; the matter has to be viewed against the world back-drop ; (iv) they were comparatively very few, and mainly restricted to the north-west ; (v) by way of contrast, West Europe and Japan came to bristle with soldiers.

THE WORLD MATRIX

It has been stated in Chapter 2 how warrior nomadic societies arose.

We are concerned mainly with Eurasia, east of Russia. In the north we have the hunter-fisher cultures of Lappo-Mongoloid Siberian peoples, covering the *taiga* or reindeer region. In the middle is the steppe country ; from the west, the Caucasian steppes, the Kazakstan steppes and the Zungarian steppes. The eastern half is higher and harsher. In the south there are the Tibetan highlands and chains of mountains. The rivers flow north to the Arctic. Tibet is enclosed between the Himalayan mountains in the south and the Karakoram and Kuenlun mountains in the north. These later two in the south and the Tien Shan ("Heavenly Mountains") in the north enclose the Tarim Basin and the dreaded Taklamakan desert. Through Taklamakan there are desert oases. North of the Tien Shan is the comparatively mild Zungarian desert, with

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

pastures, steppes and oases interspersed. Further east is the Gobi desert, poorest of steppe lands. East of Zungaria we have rich steppes on both sides of Lake Baikal, and to the south of the Gobi desert the fruitful Ordos steppes. The wild Przewalski horse was native to this area, and taming this animal gave the nomad great mobility, which increased many fold when horses were tied to chariots (circa 1900-1700 B.C.) and still later, when horse-riding began (from 1500 B.C.).[1] To the north-east of the steppes we have the forests and the Amur Basin. To the south of this is the mountainous country of South Jehol, and still further south, via the Shanhaikwan gap, Shantung. It is here, in the Eurasian steppes, from South Russia to the China border that pastoral societies evolved from about 2500 B.C. and became warrior nomad ones, fighting for flocks and for pastures.[2]

With the horse-drawn war-chariot and cavalry, and recruits from hunting peoples, the nomad warrior was well set for onslaughts on the sedentary world. He was assisted in this by precise and flexible languages, perhaps developed out of the necessities of nomadic military organisation, Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, Thai-Shan, Semitic (in the Arabian steppes), Eastern and Western Sudanic (in Africa), which supplanted the hundreds of other tongues existing formerly. For instance, in Europe, where, Gordon Childe says[3]: "Indo-European languages must have been introduced into Europe by small bands of war-like invaders, enabled to impose their rule and their language on the native peasantry by the mobility and military superiority conferred by the horse-drawn war chariot".

The warrior-nomads of the Old World fell upon relatively more sedate societies in thirteen waves, over 3500 years, as outlined below.[4]

1st Wave—18th-13th century B.C.

Horse-drawn chariots, shower of arrows from moving vehicles, *blitz-krieg.*

(a) Mitanni—to North Syria, absorbed.
(b) Hittites—to Anatolia, a new society.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(c) Kassites—to Babylonia/Iran, absorbed.

(The Mitanni, Hittites and Kassites, specially the Hittites, may have overflowed earlier, from about 2600 B.C., in some form or other).

(d) Aryas I (Bronze Age)—to India, half-absorbed.
(e) Achaeans (Mycenaeans)—to Greece, half-absorbed.
(f) Battle-Axe (Tumulus people)—to Europe, a new society.
(g) Hyksos—to Egypt, along with Semites, ejected after some centuries.
(h) Shang (Mixed Caucaso-Mongoloid ?)—to China, absorbed.

2nd Wave—1200 *B.C. onwards*

Iron weapons. In Europe the Tumulus people invented the cut-and-thrust sword and later the slashing sword and spread out as conquerors.

(a) Aryas II (Iron Age)—to India, a new society.
(b) Phrygians, Lydians etc.—to Anatolia, absorbed.
(c) Dorians—to Greece, a new society.
(d) Medes and Persians—to Iran, a new society.
(e) "Peoples of the Sea"—to Italy, North Africa, Eastern Mediterranean, absorbed.
(f) Chou (Caucaso-Mongoloid)—to China, a new society.
(g) Habirus—Originally from Arabia, to Canaan from Egypt (Exodus), a new society.
(h) Philistines—to Palestine from various places in the Eastern Mediterranean, absorbed.
(i) Aramaeans—to Syria, from Arabia, absorbed.

3rd Wave—700 *B.C. onwards*

Riding, shower of arrows even at a gallop.

(a) Cimmerians—to Armenia, absorbed.
(b) Scythians—to Iran, Assyria, India, absorbed.

4th Wave—300 *B.C. onwards*

(a) Hsiung-Nu—to Central Asia absorbed.
(b) Parthians—to Iran, absorbed.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(c) Kushans and Tokharians—to India, absorbed.
(d) Dong-Son people (Caucaso-Mongoloid)—to North Vietnam, absorbed.

(Tokharians, Parthians and Kushans formed a group known to the Chinese as Yueh-chi).

5th wave—4th-5th century A.D.

(a) Juan-Juan—to China, absorbed.
(b) Hsiung-Nu (Huns)—to Europe (Hungary), absorbed.
(c) Gujars and White Huns—to India, absorbed.
(d) Bulgars—to Europe, absorbed.
(e) Mixed Caucaso-Mongoloids (Chao, Liang, Yen, Chin, Wei, Hsia)—to China, absorbed.
(f) Mixed Caucaso-Mongoloids—to Japan (*misasagi/haniwa* figures)—new society.
(g) Mixed Caucaso-Mongoloids—to Polynesia, new society.
(h) Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Vandals—to Europe/North Africa, absorbed.
(i) Teutons (descendants of the Battle Axe peoples) in internal movements in Europe—New Society.

6th Wave—6th century onwards

(a) Avars—to Europe, absorbed.
(b) Khazars—to South Russia, absorbed in Judaism (the Ashkenazy).
(c) Khitan—to China, absorbed.

7th Wave—7th century onwards

(a) Arabs—Out of Arabia to all of West Asia, Central Asia, North Africa etc. with new ideology, and accompanied by strong mercantile elements, a new society.
(b) Tibetans—a new society.

8th Wave—9th century onwards

Thai Yai—Big Thai, Shans, to Shan States, absorbed.

9th Wave—11th century onwards

Compound reflex bow.

(a) Turks (originally a forest folk, a tribe of the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Juan Juan, north of the Amur river)—Across the Zungarian steppes to Wset Asia and South Russia. As Seljuks, Cumans, Pechenegs.

(b) Banu Hilal (from Arabia)—to the Sudan, new society.

10th Wave—12th century onwards

(a) Turks (Osmanli)—to West Asia, absorbed,
(b) Jurchen—to China, absorbed.
(c) Tangut—to Tibet, absorbed.
(d) Thai No. Little Thai from Nan Chao—to Annam and Siam, absorbed.
(e) Ahom—to Assam, absorbed.
(f) Burmese—to Burma, absorbed.

11th Wave—13th century onwards

(a) Mongols—to China, absorbed—in Mongolia and Central Asia, new society.
(b) Turks—to West Asia, absorbed.
(c) Uzbegs—to Central Asia, absorbed.

The Mongols, under Jenghiz Khan and his followers, specialized in combined operations and *blitz-krieg* tactics. The Uzbegs of the West Eurasian steppes had firearms and solid infantry formations.

12th Wave—17th century

(a) Kalmuks—to Russia and China, defeated.
(b) Shammar and Anazh—Arabia to Iran, checked.

13th Wave—19th century

(a) Wahabi—across Arabia, absorbed.
(b) Fulani—in West Africa, absorbed.

Before the Indo-European onslaughts in the 19th century B.C. Akkadians and Babylonians from the Arabian steppes had overpowered Sumeria. The Akkadians were absorbed but the Babylonians built a new society.

In the New World, because of the lack of animals like the horse there were no mobile warrior nomads of the Old World type, but the Toltecs, Aztecs, Incas etc. were similar people. Also of the same type were the Sudanic grassland nomads of Africa, whose language spread all over the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

African Middle Belt; and the Bantu, who spread slowly south from the 1st century A.D. onwards.

Ellsworth Huntington[5] has tried to correlate these nomad eruptions with drought, but has not been able to do so. So far as North Asia goes, there was drought during the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th and 12th waves—five out of thirteen. The 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 9th waves—four in all—were successful because of better military technology and techniques; and the 7th (Arab) due to a variety of factors.

Pirates have the same basic mentality as the warrior-aristocrats. Instead of the problems of the sea of grass there are those of water. Some of the grassland nomads took to the sea—like the Mycenaeans who sacked Crete, and later, the Dorians. The Egyptian records of the 13th century B.C. mention the Sea Peoples, specializing in what today would be called "commando" tactics—the Shrdn, the Tshkr, the Shkls, the Trshw, who may have been the name-givers of Sardinia, Etruria, Sicily and Tyrrhenia. They are portrayed as tall, bearded, wearing horned helmets. Later, the Danaana settled in Cilicia (8th century B.C.) and adopted the Phoenician language. The Philistines were people of the same ilk. Not all of these pirates spoke Indo-European languages, however. Only their leaders did. Others, like the Vikings, were all indubitably Indo-European speaking. They were descendants of the Battle-Axe people, and the carvings of horse-drawn chariots and solar discs in Bohuslan and Ostfeld rocks in Sweden, the Trundholm solar chariot, the Jutland grave goods etc. clearly exhibit their identity with the warrior aristocrats of South Russia—of the Kuban and of Maikop.

The same nomadic warrior adventurousness gave birth, *via* the Dongson culture, to the amazing Polynesian voyages over the Pacific in outrigger canoes. Objects showing striking resemblances to Black Sea materials have been found in North Vietnam, and lead to such a hypothesis, postulated by Robert Heine-Geldern, Karl Jettmar, and others.

It is the same adventurousness which, after making India culturally one, splashed across the waters to South

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

East Asia, and Indonesia, from about the beginning of the Christian era, for about a thousand years.

The tabulations given above show a general movement from the East to the West, and North to South (Japan is a slight variation). Europe was relatively underpopulated three thousand years ago, compared to West Asia, largely because it was a hard area, though full of minerals; the warrior aristocrats from an even harsher Siberia and the Black Sea Coast now populated it in large numbers, supplanting the local languages by Indo-European.[3] Europe came to bristle with soldiers. Less went to populated West Asia, e.g. Kassites in Babylonia, and were absorbed. The original inhabitants of the Iranian plateau may not have been Indo-European in speech and skin-colour but may have been albinized by the invading Indo-Europeans. (The circumstantial evidence is not discussed here). Possibly much lesser numbers trickled to India. (This will be discussed later in this, and in the next two chapters). Mixed Caucaso-Mongoloids spread to North China, and burst into Japan. Caucaso-Mongoloid warrior aristocrats, Shang, Chou, Thai, Ahom, Burmese, took possession of the whole of China, and South East Asia, subjecting to their control peaceful hunters and fishers and matrifocal agriculturists. Caucaso-Mongoloid warrior nomads spread across the sea, as Polynesians. Later on, Turkish and Mongol nomad warriors spread over West Asia, a part of Europe, China and India. Underpopulated Europe, and specially Britain, and Japan, as Ultima Thule at the two ends of the Eurasian Continent, teemed, relatively speaking, with adventurous soldiers, and equally adventurous artisans and craftsmen.

The East-West, North-South movement conclusion finds support from linguistic analysis. There seems to be evidence that at one time much of North Asia was Indo-European speaking.[6] In the forests there were Ural-Altaic peoples; in the steppes and oases, Indo-Europeans; and in the eastern margins of the steppes, Sino-Tai and Tibeto-Burman peoples. The Shang were apparently Sino-Tai, and the shepherd Chiang, Tibeto-Burman. The Chou may have had Indo-European blood, and the Tokharoi (T'uhalo, Ta-hsi) were Indo-European.[4] The Tokharians were later

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

found near Iran. The Yuehchi belonged to this group. During historic times also the West Siberian steppes were Indo-European speaking e.g. the Sarmatians. Thus, it is very likely that at one time the Indo-European speaking belt stretched right across the Eurasian steppes up to the Kansu border. The Mongoloids lived in the steppe fringes and Northern forests; and still beyond, in the north-east, were forest people, Turks, Tungus, Mongols, speaking Ural-Altaic languages. These forest peoples acquired horses, nomadism etc. from the Indo-Europeans and later supplanted them. As the tabulation given above shows, North Asia was almost denuded of Indo-European whites by 700 B.C Turki and Mongoloid peoples took their place. From the borders of China, Mongoloid and mixed white-Mongoloids streamed down to China and South East Asia.

Values and Institutions—Common to all Nomad-Warrior Societies

The Prevailing Ethos, Basic Attitudes and Values and Institutions of Warrior Nomads can be constructed from anthropology and hero-lays. There have been warrior-nomads till recent times—Red Indians, the Bedouins of Arabia, the Kazak, Kirghiz and Kalmuk of Eurasia, and certain African tribes. Among the last have been the Hausa, the Fulani and the Jukun in West Africa; the East Hamites—Beja Dinn, Hadendoa, the historic Nubians ("Fuzzy-Wuzzy" of Kipling), Galla; Somali, Danakil, Ethiopans etc. and the Masai, Nandi, Kikuyu, Watusi, Basuto, Zulu, Matabele etc. of East Africa.

Warrior-nomad hero-lays are famous all over the world. Among the heroes may be mentioned Marduk and Gilgamesh of the Babylonians; Joshua and Samson among the Hebrews; the warriors of the *Shah Namah* of Firdausi of Persia, the most well-known being Sohrab and Rustom; the heroes of the Rig-veda, specially Indra; the warriors of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*; Greek heroes—Jason, Theseus, Perseus, Heracles, the warriors of the *Iliad* and the Odyssey, Greek deities like Zeus, Ares, etc.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Roman deities—Jupiter, Mars etc; Roman heroes like Aeneas (of Virgil's *Aeneid*), Romulus and Remus, Numa, Horatius etc; Celtic heroes and deities as found in the Irish *The Book of Leinster,* the Book of the *Dun Cow* and the Welsh *Mabinogion,* the most famous being Cuchulain, Fingal and King Arthur and his knights; Teutonic deities and heroes as found in the *Eddas, the Volsunga Saga and* the *Nibelungenlied*—Odin, Thor, Siegfried, Hildebrand, Dietrich, Parsifal, Lohengrin etc; the English Beowulf; the French Roland, Oliver, Ganelon, Rinaldo etc; the Spanish El Cid; the Slav Peroun, Ilya Murometz, Oleg, Igor; the Finnish heroes of the *Kalevala;* the Japanese Susa-no-o; Tu, the Polynesian god of war; the Aztec Tezcatlipoca, Quetzalcoatl, and Huitzilopochtli.

The nomad was a fighter. Group fought group for pastureland, for flocks. In-group feeling within a tribe, a clan, therefore, was strong. Society, highly organised, was divided into well-recognised functional classes, although social mobility was not impossible. Thus, the Hittites had the *mariannu,* aristocrats and charioteers; the *haniahu,* traders, gardeners, royal herdsmen etc; and the *huppu,* semi-free serfs.[7] The Iranians had their *Hateshtar* or *Ratheshtar* (warriors), *Atharvan* (priests), *Vastriya* (cultivators), and *Huiti* (artisans); and so on.

The woman could be a horse-rider, and a courageous fighter. But she could not participate in campaigns all the time. Hence she became a dependent, and in some cases, a chattel. Double standards of morality prevailed as regards the sexual behaviour of men and women. The partiarch was supreme in all spheres within the family, a veritable *sheikh,* as Abraham was.

Living in the open grass-lands, the nomad venerated the sky, the storm-gods, the sun, the wind. His gods were like his *sheikhs,* full of violence, jeolousy and arbitrary wraths, but also fair-minded, magnanimous, great. In his many idle hours, tending his flocks, the nomad meditated. He thought of the relations between men and men. His beliefs and philosophisings he coloured with the strong traditions of personal loyalty and devotion to his chief,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the war-leader, the Gunther-Hagen mentality of the *Nibelungenlied,* and the Rama-Lakshmana, Rama-Hanumana, Duryodhana-Karna traditions of our own *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* etc. Some of the particularly philosophising types became "tuned to the Infinite" in the endless spaces, like the Siberian *shamans.* They heard voices, they had trances, they became intoxicated with ideas, confident that their god had spoken to them. They were the prophets, the proto-types of the Jewish *nebim,* the Arab *nabi,* the Indo-Aryan *rishi.* This class constituted another foci of power, and there was rivalry between them and the warriors. In some cases they proved stronger. Apparently such a development took place where there were other elements besides the war-like and comparatively less credulous nomads in the social matrix. Thus, among the pastoral Masai, believed to have evolved out of a hunting people, the elders had less power than the rain-making medicine men.[8]

Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life—Domestication of animals; pastoralism; trade; raids; organised violence; mastery in logistics and in handling large numbers of disciplined men to conquer societies with less skill in war-making. Then setting themselves up as overlords.

Prevailing Ethos (Consciousness V)—War as a Way of Life; daring, organised violence; loyalty to in-group to death—the Gunther-Hagen ethos; lavishness; Code of Honour, Protocol and Etiquette fixed and intransgressible; anti-feminine, probably as a protest against the "Establishment" of the Matrifocal Agricultural society from which the warriors originated.

Basic Attitudes

Science and Technology

1. Thinking	Subordinated to fighting. "Conceptualization" largely left to *shaman* type people.
2. Teachers	Respect, but not worship.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Economics	
3. Working	Spasmodic. Work meant for others, the conquered, and and "lower orders".
Family and Society	
4. Relations with Fellow-Men	Class-consciousness. Protocol and hierarchy in work. In social matters democracy within class. Constant wars with other tribes.
5. Man and Woman	Anti-feminine, but chivalrous and gallant.
6. Hierarchy	Regular, organised, functional classes. Rank-consciousness and genealogy-consciousness gave rise to bards, heraldry etc.
Politics etc.	
7. Duty Sense	Unquestioning loyalty to comrades to death, the Gunther-Hagen mentality.
8. Fighting spirit	Fighting as a Way of Life.
9. "In-group" / "Out-group"	Very strong "in-group" "out-group" feelings, separate banners, insignia etc.
Ideology	
10. Epistemology	Revelation, gift from the deity.
11. Metaphysics 12. Theology	Full of Nature spirits in the wide spaces, and of Sky Father and Earth Mother Mysticism.
13. Eschatology	Valhalla type of other world, constant feasting and enjoyment amongest lovely maidens

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

14.	Ethics	Codes intransgressible. Different norms for different classes. Stoicism in difficulties.
	Culture	
15.	Gregariousness	In intervals between wars, relaxation and extreme conviviality.
16.	Eating and drinking.	Lavish; hospitable; drinking bouts.
17.	Attitude to the Fine Arts, Literature, etc.	Lavish display. Pomp and pageantry. Hero-tales. Romances and songs. Both men and women perform and entertain.
18.	Attitude to the Past	Deep respect for tradition and precedent.

As conquerors of other societies the nomands showed great cultural adaptability. To give an illustration, observers have noted the rapidity with which new concepts and fashions were adopted all over the nomad area of North America.[9]

Social Values and Institutions

	Values	*Institutions*
1. Science and technology	Emphasis on weaponry, logistics, etc.	War chariots, weaponry, cavalry, wagons, leather bags; meat, milk products, dairying.
2. Economy	Pastoralism / trade / raids / robbery.	Raids and warfare as systematic pursuits/ extended joint family for production, raids etc.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

3. Family and society	Male superiority; closely knit extended family for production and fighting necessary.	Extended joint family; common household; patriarchal, exogamous society; marriage arranged by patriarchs; double standards of sexual behaviour; virginity prized; women treated as inferior; patrilineal reckoning; class division - aristocrats / commoners / serfs or slaves, each with special insignia and code of honour.
4. Politics / administration etc.	Male superiority / war leaders / democracy of fighters.	Warrior armies and guards; war leaders—*rajanyas, umrah* etc. More authority to leaders in war than peace. *Sabhas, samitis, jirgahs* etc.
5. Religious ideology / education	Nature deities; ancestral hero cults; mysticism developed in wide spaces. Anti-feminine.	Head of family as priest; aniconic worship; open air altars, no idols etc. Hatred of fertility and phallic cults. Great reluctance to give education to women.
6. Other aspects	Outside war-generous, hospitable, pleasure-seeking, liking for taking the chance.	Hospitality, generosity. Both men and women in common merriment; drinking halls, bards, minstrels, carousing, story-tellers, jesters, jousts, tournaments. Horse racing, games of chance like dicing.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Although society has changed, and is changing, warrior-aristocratic ideas still colour much of our thoughts because the whole world fell sway to them, as we have seen. The legacy of the warrior aristocrats include—liking for Nature and male deities as opposed to fertility cults and female deities/strong feelings against idol-worship/hero-worship/ war-like mentality/keen interest in weaponry and weapons improvements/daring/power of organisation/love of horses and animals/widespread use of milk and dairy products/exogamy/double standards of sexual behaviour-indulgence to males, none to females/ prizing of virginity/gallantry and chivalry to women, but otherwise depression of them/democracy within classes, except in times of war/drinking bouts, carousing/ games of chance, horse racing (and its development-motor racing) and sports.

The First Warrior Nomad Incursion : Bronze Age Aryans of the Rig-Veda

Archaeological evidence.

From about 1800 B.C. there are everywhere in the North West of India, burnings, destruction, and the appearance of foreign objects. These are copper stamp seals, copper shaft-hole axes, footed and legged bowls, copper pins with spiral loops and so on. These have links with Turan (Central Asia), like Anau; or Iran, like Hissar, Giyan etc. In Afghanistan the intrusive objects are found at Mundigak; in North Baluchistan at Rana Ghundai, Dabar Kot etc.; in South Baluchistan at Shahi-tump on an abandoned Kulli site, in Sind at Amri, Chanhudaro, Jhukar, Lohumjo-daro etc. The axes bear kinship with those at such far away places as Maikop and Tsarskaya in South Russia.[10] The pottery everywhere is local, distinctive for each site.

At the same time the Indusian cities decayed and disappeared. At Mohenjo-daro there is no Jhukar-type occupation, but the city planning seems to miscarry. There are hastily buried or unburied skeletons in the streets, lying helter-skelter, as if massacred. There are buried hoards of jewellery. Round about 1800-1600 B.C.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

we have copper shaft-hole axes, dirks and daggers with thickened mid-rib and rivet helm, with Iranian affinities. They had not been seen in the Indus Valley earlier. These weapons later spread all over India.

At Harappa between 2000-1500 B.C. bronze animal headed pins occur of the West Iran/Caucasus type. The citadel is rebuilt, but city planning apparently fails. Reused brick is used, and the houses no longer follow the earlier strict rules. Between the top-most layer of pottery is somewhat different, recalling Iran, although another, higher up, with a different kind of pottery (Cemetery H), is a great mass of debris. The later pottery is somewhat different recalling Iran, although local elements are there. There are now motifs, like stars, and rings, and dots, and animal friezes, having affinities with finds at Iranian sites like Tepe Giyan, Jamshidi and Susa. On the other hand, the Indusian elements in the pottery led the excavator, M. S. Vats, to think that Indian and foreign elements were being integrated. Cemetery H type of pottery is found in places like Bahawalpur, Rupar, and even Saharanpur. Obviously the intruders ranged wide. The racial stock in the R 37 and H cemetries, however, was apparently more or less the same.[11] Obviously the intruders were of the same racial type as the Indusian rulers, or a mixture had already taken place.

Such waves of foreign intrusion continued. A copper bronze dirk from Fort Munro, in the foothills west of Dera Ghazi Khan, with fan-shaped decoration on the pommel of the hilt is like those found in Luristan and Sialk VI in Iran, *circa* 12th century B.C. Then there are bronze tripod jars, horse bells, bangles and iron arrow heads. Similar finds occur at Shalozan in the Kurram valley. In Hazara district a golden stag of the Caucasian-Caspian type, circa 1500-1200 B.C., has been found; and so on. The antennae swords of Fathegarh and Bithur have Caucasian links.

Contemporary outside movements

About the same time, we have seen that the first wave of warrior-nomads, Mitanni, Hittites, Kassites, Achaeans,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Battle-Axe Tumulus people, Hyksos, emerged from the steppes of Eurasia, with horse-drawn chariots, bronze weapons, and mastery in showering arrows accurately from moving vehicles, and in *blitz-krieg*, to overpower sedate societies. The Kassites and the Mitanni had Indo-Aryan names. Thus, in the case of the Kassites, names with components like *buriash* and *maruttash* and pure Indo-Aryan names like *Abirattash* (Abhiratha) appear. The Mitanni had names like Tushratta, Dashratha ("Ten Chariots") etc. Kikkuli of the Mitannis used chariot-racing terms like *aika-wartana* etc. which were virtually pure Sanskrit. A treaty between the Hittite king Suppilulimas and the Mitannian Mattiwaza, much later, circa 1380 B.C., still mentions names like Mitra, Varuna, Indra etc., gods of the Rigvedic Aryans. Obviously such people were on the move outside India, which also felt their terrible impact—that of the Bronze-Age Aryans.

Literary evidence: the testimony of the Rig-Veda.

Was there a connection between the intruders and the disturbed conditions and mass murders at Mohenjo-daro, the debris layers at Harappa, the Jhukar folk building on the ruins of many other Indusian sites? Gordon Childe and Mortimer Wheeler thought so, and the latter wrote dramatically—"Indra stands accused!" Indian writers, thinking themselves to be the descendants of the Aryans, and at the same time prizing the theory of non-violence, pointed out that there was a gap, a debris layer, between Cemetery R 37 and Cemetery H at Harappa. Mortimer Wheeler, therefore, did not press his point. Lambrick thought that the Indus changed its course, and this led to desiccation round about Mohenjo-daro, its collapse and the *coup de grace* at barbarian hands. Marshall and Mackay gave weight to floods, while Raikes thought that tectonic movements further down-stream led to a mighty lake-formation and silting. These causes are not mutually exclusive, and most of them may have been simultaneous.

What is the literary evidence? The *Rigveda* is full

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

of destruction of towns, for which the praise is given to Indra. Rijisvan massacres Dasas on a very large scale (RV. 1. 51. 5); he lays siege to a hundred towns of Vanghad (R. V. 1. 53. 8). He massacres black pregnant women and is praised by the priest Angiras Kutsa for it (RV 1. 101. 1). He vanquishes Pipru, Mrigaya, Susuvams. The great hero Kutsa destroys the fortified towns of Illibis and kills Susna, who wears the head-dress of horns. (RV. 1. 33. 12). Another such hero was Atithigva ("Hospitable One") Divodas, who had to fight the redoubtable Sambar, son of Kulitar. When defeated, Sambar fled to the hills and it took four years to pursue and kill him. Sudas, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu ("Terror of the Dasyus") were others who harried the *dasas* (later meaning, "slaves") and *dasyus* (came to mean "robbers"). The warriors are very aggressive, and Indra is ready to strike the black people, deprive them of their lands and waters and give them to the Aryans (RV. 2. 20. 7). The hymns of the *Rigveda* are full of massacres of *Dasas*, plundering of their cows, corns and riches, destruction of their stockaded towns, subjection of them to bodily pain and suffering and killing, killing, killing. The breaking up of the small Indusian dams is praised: "Oh Indra, when you destroyed the seven fortified towns you crushed the people of evil tongue to your great pleasure; you made to flow the obstructed waters and killed the enemy for the sake of youthful Purukutsa." (RV. 1. 174. 2). The onslaughts of Trasadasyu were so fierce, and his massacres so terrrble, that his enemies offered prayers to the gods for taking him away from their country. A town, "Hariyupia", an obvious Aryanisation of pre-Aryan Harappa, is mentioned (RV. 6. 27. 5). Here Indra shattered the remnants of the *Varasikhas* like an earthen pot, crumpling up their front line of a hundred and thirty panoplied warriors of the *Vrichivats*, on which the rest fled, giving the victory to Abhayavartin Chayamana. A city Narmini, was lighted up by the fire-god Agni (RV. 1. 149. 3) and some have suggested that this may have been Mohenjo-daro. The Indusians are often depicted as timid and frightened,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

who would run away at the sight of an Aryan army (RV. 1. 33. 6-7). The Aryan method seems to have been to surround the towns, destroy the ramparts, attack from various sides, set houses on fire, create panic, slaughter the terrified people running helter-skelter and plunder their houses (RV. 3. 15. 4). Exactly the same methods were followed by the Turks about 3000 years later.

The testimony of the *Rig-Veda* cannot be disregarded or ignored. So many stories could not have been just made up. The debris in Harappa and non-occupation in Mohenjo-daro perhaps means that the pastoral and rural Aryans avoided the cities, and so, like the Vandals, they left no traces. They merely destroyed and left for other plundering expeditions, ever on the move. Archaeology supports this conclusion, as no site appears to have been under constant occupation, even at the later Copper Hoard area, for any length of time.[12] Burrow's paper on the ruined Indian cities-*arma* and *armaka,* makes this clear.[13] Two quotations from Sanskrit literature will be pertinent in this connection.

Yesham ime purve armasa asan
Ayupah, sadma bibhrita puruni
Vaisvanara tvaya te nuttah
prithivim anyam abhi tasthur janasah—
(Taittiriya Brahman, II. 4. 6. 8).

"The people to whom these ruined sites, lacking posts, formerly belonged, these many settlements, widely distributed, they, O Vaishvanara, having been expelled by thee, have migrated to another land". Again,

Avasam maghavan jahi
Sardho yatumatinam
Vailasthanake armake
Mahavailasthe armake.
(RV. 1. 133. 3).

"Strike down, O Maghavan, the host of these sorceresses, in the ruined city of Vailas-thanaka, in the ruined city Mahavilastha".

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

In the *Latyayana Shrauta-sutra* there are references to the ruined cities of the Sarasvati river (X. 18. 3/X. 19. 9).

Thus, the intuition and the accusing finger of Mortimer Wheeler at Indra cannot be brushed aside. But this is the law of Nature, of Life, that the strong always deprive the weak of everything, of life, of liberty, and of happiness.

A reconstruction: What happened?

Probably what happened is that round about 1800 B.C. or so, Aryan war bands began to stream in, in small numbers. Their superior weapons and discipline told. If we assume (for the present) that the Indusian cities were ruled by priests (Brahmans), then it appears that their charisma, spell, magic, vanished. People, mainly formerly food-gatherers, now subject coolies, no longer believed implicitly in the spiritual voltage of the Brahman rulers—*Brahma Shakti.* City planning failed. Used bricks were re-employed, houses abutted on streets, brick kilns appeared within the city walls for the first time. We find the same break in charisma, in the spiritual stranglehold of the rulers, and the same internal tension and chaos when the Egyptian Old Kingdom disintegrated round about 2200 B.C., partly as a result of an impious sceptical foreign presence, that of the Hyksos. Similarly, when the Mayan ritual centres collapsed one by one round about 800 A.D., because the charisma of the priestly rulers fell. In Egypt hardened native warriors from the South violently restored the Pharaonic order—the Amenemhets and the Senusrets. In the case of the Mayas the foreign Itzas, a military people, came as conquerors. The same thing happened in the Indus Valley. The Aryans broke up the small dams and destroyed the economic foundations of the Indusian theocratic system, as the Mongols destroyed the complicated Mesopotamian irrigation system in the 13th century A. D. The Harappa citadel was hastily rebuilt, but it was of no avail. The Aryans came, conquered, plundered and left the cities. Some were apparently already in ruins when they arrived. The material culture of the Aryans was poor, and their

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

princes probably lived in tents or wooden cabins, and they were few. Hence, like the Vandals and the Hyksos, they left few traces. Their strength lay in their military technology, their horses, and their resolute, organised, daring spirit. About their horses they sung (A. L. Basham's translation) :

Rushing to glory, to the capture of herds,
Swooping down as a hungry falcon,
Eager to be first, he darts amid the ranks of the chariots,
Happy as a bridegroom making a garland,
Spurning the dust and champing at the bit.
And the victorious steed and faithful
his body obedient in battle,
speeding on through the melee,
stirs up the dust to fall on his brows.
And at his deep neigh, like the thunder of heaven,
the foemen tremble in fear,
for he fights against thousands,
and none can resist him,
So terrible is his charge.
(RV. IV. 38. 5-6).

And, about the spirit :

The warrior's look is like a thunderous rain-cloud,
when armed with mail, he seeks the lap of battle ;
Be thou victorious with unwounded body ; so let the
thickness of thy mail protect thee
who so would kill us, whether he be
a strange foe or one of us..
May all the gods discomfit him.
My nearest, closest mail is prayer.
(RV. VI. 75.1/19)

Culture and Decline

In India, Stage 5 (Warrior Nomads) came after Stage 6 (Theocratic Priest Rulers), the Indusians, who had organised their society very well indeed, as we shall see. The first Aryans had perforce to accept the Indusian organisation of society (as had the Turko-Mughals and British afterwards) but militarised it, and gave it, a four-fold theoretical *varna* (literally "colour") scheme (Kshatriyas / Brahmans / Vaishyas / Shudras—War-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

riors/Priests/Merchants and Peasants or Commoners/Serfs and Slaves). It was a polygamous society, concubinage with native women was allowed, as we shall see, and there were none to check the war-mad, turbulent and ebullient Aryan-speaking conquerors. The Yadavas particularly seemed to have fostered intermarriages and hybridization, and from the large spread of their name they may have formed the spearhead in the expansion down the Banas, to Saurashtra, and across Central India, with thrusts to Maharashtra, Bihar and West Bengal, along with the Black-and-Red Ware. Priests obviously accompanied them, like the Datta Atreyas to Maharashtra, according to the *Puranas*. Science and technology were apparently Indusian, except for the superior Aryan weaponry and chariotry. In culture we have the Vedic war songs, to which there was an appropriate ideology, first of Varuna, the all-seeing, all-powerful (perhaps fashioned after a Hammurabi or a Tiglath-pileser), then of Indra.[14] The concept of *Rita* (military righteousness, loyalty, the same as the Iranian *arta,* the Gunther-Hagen mentality) was very important. Varuna was an *Asura,* and in the Rig Veda, at first *Asuras* were praised, then *suras* or *devas.* It appears that the Iranian and Indian Aryans were overwhelmed psychologically by the Assyrians (Ashurs) and called their leaders and gods Ahura and Asura, in the same way that the Teutonic and Slavonic peoples took over the name of the Roman Caesar (Kaiser/Tsar). It appears that later groups of Aryan intruders were not so obsessed by the Ashurs. The two groups probably fought over the possession of Eastern Iran, and North-West India. In Iran the Ahura group won, in India the sura (non-Asura) or deva group. The Indian *Puranas* are full of Sura-Asura conflicts. In course of time the dominant *deva* group in India called all their enemies *asuras* and lumped them together-Indusian Brahmans as well as later Iron-using Second Wave of Aryans, who became absorbed subsequently in the *deva* group. People of mixed blood, *daityas, danavas,* food-gathering and hunting tribes, cannibals (*rakshasas*), all those who opposed the *deva* group of Aryans are often lumped with the Asuras.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

In the *Puranas*, the Asuras are portrayed as experts in charms, spells, exorcisms etc. They are also very wise. Shukra-charya was their preceptor or *guru*. Maya, the *danava*, is a great architect and builder. All these fit in with the Indusians, as we shall see. Other characteristics do not. They are described as great experts in iron-working,[15] which the Indusians were not. Again, very un-Indusian is their capability for waging total war, robbing the conquered of goods, sons, wives etc. without bothering about *deva* moralising. Obviously the Bronze-using first Aryans, like the Bronze-using Mycenaeans, had found more than their match in another invading group, the Iron-using Aryans, as did the latter in the Iron-using Dorians.

The Iron-Using Aryans
The Pandavas

Archaeological evidence

Archaeological evidence for a group of invading iron-using people is forthcoming. Round about 1200 B.C. there is evidence of incursions all over India's north west. This is the period when the second wave of Warrior Nomads, with iron weapons, streamed out from Eurasia and Arabia—the Phrygians, Lydians, Dorians, Medes and Persians, the "Peoples of the Sea", the Chou, the Habirus, the Aramaeans. At Fort Munro we find iron arrow-heads. The Jhukar Phase at Chanhu-daro and Lohumjo-daro is succeeded, round about 1000 B.C. by the Jhangar phase, the material culture of which has affinities with those of the necropolis at Sialk B in Iran.[16] Sialk B, as is well known, has been dated by Claude Schaeffer to 1200-1000 B.C. Iron is frequent here, the ceramics and cylinder seals show paintings of horses and riders, and the grave goods include horse-furniture like bits, horse-bells and pectorals. Horse-bells have been found at Fort Munro. On the western borders of the Indian sub-continent there is a whole chain of cairn cemetries, producing identical pottery—squat, spouted flasks with lugs, pierced for carrying. Flanged arrow-heads in bronze and iron have been found at these sites. Obviously, an iron-using people were on the move. N. R. Banerjee has proved by

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

a detailed and painstaking study—*The Iron Age in India* (Delhi, 1965)—that iron was introduced into India round about this time.

There are gaps in our knowledge of iron use in West Pakistan, possibly due to the lack of adequate excavations. But in the Indo-Gangetic Doab B. B. Lal has found many iron age sites and associated them with a fine, well-fired Painted Grey Ware. This pottery was first found at Ahichchatra ("Serpent Umbrella") in 1946, but its full significance became apparent only after B. B. Lal's Hastinapur excavations in 1950-52. Hastinapur, near Meerut, was the traditional capital of the Kurus. The North Indian Iron Age and Painted Grey Ware sites are found, basically, in what today are Western Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana and Delhi. The easternmost extension (also southern) is Kaushambi (Allahabad), beyond which such sites are not found. Radio-carbon datings for these sites give a time-span of 11th-5th century B.C. Iron is fairly common in all the sites, and constant, and there are no stone-blade industries. Copper is less common, but the finds of both copper and iron are generally of arrow heads and spears, denoting a martial people. The Painted Grey pottery was basically of two types—a shallow tray (*thali*), and a deeper bowl, often with sharp angles between the walls and the base (*katori*). The decorations, as in Dorian Greece, were mainly geometric—vertical, oblique or criss-cross lines, rows of dots, spiral chains, concentric circles etc. The *swastika* seems to have been a favourite design.[17] The Painted Grey pottery was apparently class ware, and the bulk of the service was provided by a plain red ware. In addition, there was a burnished grey ware and the Black-and-Red Ware also.[18]

The houses had mud floors, and were made of wattle and daub upon wooden frames. Mud and mud-brick fortifications also later came into existence, complete with moats, ramparts etc.[19] At Hastinapur only one cereal has been found, rice; and bones of cattle, buffalo, sheep, goat, pig and wild deer.[20] The material remains, therefore, are poor, although the people obviously had a varied non-vegetarian diet, washed down, no doubt, with copious

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

draughts of *sura* and *asava*, however much the priests may have frowned on this.

Literary evidence

Who were these iron users? They can only have been the Pandavas. The Pandavas are peculiar. They are ignored by the *Vedas* and the *Puranas*,[21] although mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures.[22] Their descendants, like Parikshit and Janamejaya, are associated in the Puranas with the Kurus.[23] The Pandavas were obvious outsiders. The *Mahabharata* is basically a tale of Kuru-Panchalas rivalry, as is well-known, and this point has a bearing on our present enquiry. The Srinjaya tribe of the Panchalas and the Kurus were particularly opposed to each other.[24]

Buddha Prakash has found in Arjuna a symbol of the Kushans (Kucha, Kuchika—Central Asia), who invaded India as such many centuries later; in Bheema, of the Virk tribe of Central Asia (cf. Vrikodara, a name of his; also Avestan Vehrkana, Armenian Urkan, Greek Urkania/Hyrcania, east of the Caspian Sea); in Yudhishthira, of the Yaudheya warrior clan of the Punjab (Yautiyas of Azerbaijan); and in Nakula and Sahadeva, of the Madras (Iranian-Made).[25] Thus, a configuration of five tribes, Turanian and Iranian, iron-using, fell on India. In the First Battle of Kurukshetra, the Gandharvas from the North West, displaced by the Pandavas, and no doubt using iron weapons, defeated the Kurus, and King Chitrangad lost his life.[26] The Pandavas then came in, probably called by the Panchalas, as Jai Chand of Kanauj called in Muhammad Ghori 2000 years later. The Kurus were ringed round by the Panchalas, the Pandavas and the ambivalent Yadavas, the last under the shrewd diplomat, politician and philosopher, Krishna Vasudeva ("Vasudeva the Dark"). The result was the Second Battle of Kurukshetra, where the Kurus were utterly destroyed. Nowhere in the world could bronze using warriors stand up to those with stronger, sharper, iron weapons.

According to the *Puranas*, there was a flood in Hastinapur at the time of Nichakshu, of the Paurava line. He abandoned it and settled at Kaushambi. Nichakshu was

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

fifth in order of descent from the Pandavas. B. B. Lal has found erosional scars at Hastinapur, supporting the flood-hypothesis, and has dated this to about 800 B.C.[27] If about 100 years or so is taken for five generations of kings, then this will give the 9th century B.C. for the Mahabharata war. There is another *Puranic* tradition according to which between Nichakshu and King Udayana of the 6th century B.C. there were 18 other rulers. Taking Pargiter's mean of 18 years to a monarch, and 22-23 rulers between Udayana and the Pandavas, we get a time span of 400 years, which takes us to the 10th century B.C. for the Mahabharata War. There is another tradition which postulates a gap of 1000 years between the Pandavas and Mahapadma Nanda (4th century B.C.) with 26 rulers in between. This gives an average reign of about 40 years per ruler, which is definitely too high. The second tradition must, therefore, yield place to the first one. Thus, the literary evidence fits in with the evidence of disturbances and invasions in the north-west in the 10th century B.C.

An essentially Indo-Gangetic—Doab affair was later magnified by the priests of the iron-using victors to include the whole of India. In the imagination of later authors the essentially rude settlements of the Kurus, Panchalas and Pandavas, as well as of cities like Takshashila (Taxila) became splendid and magnificent places. This is not borne out by archaeology. Taxila, for instance, was essentially a village, and matured into a city, under Persian influence, only in the 6th century B.C.

The Riddle of the Pandavas: internal contradictions in the Mahabharata

The Pandavas must have been the whirlwind, turbulent warriors who are the proto-types of the Asuras in Puranic literature, who are always defeating the gods (the Bronze-using Aryans). Some Mitannis may possibly have fled from the Assyrians to India and provided an initial animosity against the "Ashurs". But they could have been only few, if any at all. More plausible is the fight between the Ahura Iranians and the Deva Aryans for Eastern Iran, as already pointed out. But here the battle must have been between equals, as both were

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

bronze-using and of same background, and long drawn out. The quick and constant defeats of the *devas* against the *asuras* can only find their proto-type in those of the bronze-using Aryans against the iron-users, a foreign parallel being the Mycenaeans and Dorians. The Pandavas were too powerful to be described as *asuras* as such, this being a term of opprobrium, and even if they had been, such references must have been expurgated (the tradition was still oral), by the priests of their powerful descendants, who must have gained precedence over those who stuck to the lines of chieftains of older stock. A compromise may have been the total ignoring of the Pandavas in the earlier literature of the *Vedas* and the *Puranas,* and the growth of an enormous corpus around the Pandava hero-lay or saga, later known as the *Mahabharata.* Originally this was in the hands of *sutas* or bards, but later the Bhargava priests got hold of it, and voluminous accretions took place, as V. S. Sukthankar has conclusively proved by his prodigious labours.

In the Mahabharata the Pandavas are five polyandrous brothers. This is also mentioned in the *Kunalaka Jataka* (No. 536), but this text may be following the Bhargava-edited and amplified Mahabharata, that is to say, the source may be one and the same. The Jataka in question states that the brothers were hillmen. The Jaunsar Bawar hillmen (*Kinnara* country) practice polyandry, and are pale or yellow, *pandu,* from which the proponents of this school derive the name "Pandava" or "Paleface". "Paleface" was a term used by the Amerinds for the white European invaders, and the dark, jewel-glittering descendants of the fair-skinned early Aryan warriors may have used this same epithet "*pandava*" for the fair, iron-using Aryans. The descedants of these very iron-using Aryans, in their turn, found the Turks in the 12th century A.D. "leprous white". The word "pandu", supposed to be "pale" or "yellow" can, therefore, have another plausible interpretation. It is unlikely that the Pandavas were polyandrous. Neither their reputed ancestors in the Mahabharata nor their descendants were so. Such

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

an instance, only for one generation, is against all common sense.

Is it then that they were polyandrous because of Kunti's unwitting saying: "Whatever you have brought today, share equally"? Kunti was in an inner room, and when she had come out, all the brothers would have normally laughed. Like all martial peoples the sanctity of the spoken word (cf. Tulsi Das'—"Raghukula reeti sada chali ayi/Prana jau varu vachana na jayi") would have been extremely important to the Pandavas. But there are limits to it, and sharing a woman, in a non-polyandrous group, must surely have been one. Besides, did not Kunti know that the brothers were going to the *svayamvara* or "bride-choice" hall? This is hardly likely. If so, how could she have said what has been put in her mouth? The Bhargava editors of the Mahabharata make out that Arjuna, who had won Draupadi in the *svayamvara* or "bride-choice" by his archery, did not want to marry her before his elder brothers, Yudhishthira and Bheema, had been married. How is it that no one thought about this earlier, either at Drupad's court, or during the long trek back to Kunti's house? There is obviously something wrong here.

Nor does such a solution fit in with the imaginative Buddha Prakash's five-tribe theory, which seems highly plausible. This plausibility is heightened by the peculiarities of Kunti's motherhood according to the Mahabharata. The dim "Pandu" is only her nominal husband. Karna is born of the Sun; Yudhishthira of Yama, the god of righteousness; Bheema, of Vayu or Marut, god of winds and storms; and Arjuna, of Indra. To add to the confusion, Irawati Karve has used her feminine acumen to suggest, quite plausibly, to go by the Mahabharata text, that Yudhishthira was the son of Vidura by Kunti. The legends of Kunti's variegated motherhood make it unlikely that in actual fact the three Pandavas were her sons. The Bhargava editors of the Mahabharata just foisted them on her to give the iron-using, strong-armed Pandava barbarians a respectable

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

genealogy. Similarly false must be the effort at respectability to foist all the leaders of the five tribes to the common husbandship of Draupadi. Barbarians, no matter how stron-armed, crave for legality and kinship with established aristocrats. Right up to 1806, Teutonic princes, rulers because of their strong right arms, were proud to be known as the "Holy Roman Emperor", which title evoked both the Caesars and Papal blessings. It seems likely, therefore, that the shrewd and diplomatic Bhargava editors concocted the polyandry story—knowing of such practices in some hill places, to please all their patrons, the Yaudheyas, the Virkanas, the Arjunayanas, and the Madras, at a period of time somewhat distant from the original happenings, when the truth was forgotten, and anything could go down with the ignorant, gullible, credulous and priest-ridden peasants and food-gatherers.

The Third Wave :

Dravidian-Speaking Warrior Nomads

The South Indian megalithic came to be known well after the excavations chiefly of Mortimer Wheeler in the nineteen forties. Sites and graves have been found over the whole of the Peninsula, from Junapani near Nagpur in the north, to Adichanallur in the south, as well as most of Ceylon. These sites are characterised by :

(i) megalithic burials ; (ii) use of iron ; (iii) predominance of the Black-and-Red Ware.

Radio-carbon dates from Hallur suggest that the opening period may be about 1000-950 B.C.[28]

According to the Allchins[29] several influences have combined to the making of the graves :

(i) Central Asia, Iran, Caucasus ; (ii) indigenous practices, from neolithic-chalcolithic times ; (iii) Levantine & South Arabian in the stone cist graves ; (iv) Yemeni in the legged urns.

Iron is universal in the grave goods, and the range of identical tools, over an area covering 900 miles from Nagpur to Adichanallur suggests a small tightly-knit group of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

iron-workers. We find a mixed bag in the graves—tools of farmers, technicians and soldiers. They include flat iron axes; varieties of flanged spade, hoe, spud or pick-axe; sickles or hill-hooks; knives, chisels, adzes, iron tripods or pot rests, saucer hook-lamps, lamp-pendants; and daggers, swords and spear-heads.

One is struck with the thinness of the occupation levels, showing that the intruders could have been only few in number.[30] In some places, like Brahmagiri, Piklihal, Sanganakallu and Maski, the depth of the occupation is less than four feet. It has already been stated, while discussing matrifocal agriculture in the south, that this intrusive group began the practice of "tank irrigation", grew horse-gram, green-gram, *ragi* and rice, and had a rich meat diet of humped cattle, goats, sheep, buffaloes, fowls, deer and tortoise. About their religion archaeology tells us very little. The occasional iron spears and tridents (*trishulas*) suggest association with Shiva. In one grave a trident with a wrought iron buffalo fixed to the shaft make the Allchins think either of the Hindu god of death, Yama, who rides a buffalo, or of Durga, who slew the animal with a trident in her *Mahishmardini* or "Buffalo Slayer" form.[31]

Christoph von Fuhrer-Haimendorf was the first to suggest, in 1953, that the megalith builders were Dravidian-speaking.[32] N. R. Banerjee in his *The Iron Age in India* (Delhi, 1965), supports this idea and gives copious archaeological arguments in its support. The Allchins, do not rule the proposition out.[33] The picture which emerges is something as follows:

(i) The Indusian priest rulers were Dravidian-speaking (we shall deal with this in Chapter 13, but this fits in with the jig-saw puzzle of ancient Indian history and may be assumed for the present), ruling over an Australoid, Munda or proto-Munda-speaking people;

(ii) the *coup de grace* to the Indusian civilization was provided, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, by the Bronze Age Aryans;

(iii) these Bronze Age Aryans, as we have also seen, used extensively a Black-and-Red Ware, a new type of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

pottery produced by inverted firing, found along the Banas Valley, Malwa, Central India, and places in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal and Maharashtra;

(iv) in the north-west, Dravidian was supplanted by Aryan, surviving only in pockets, like Brahui in Baluchistan to the present day;

(v) various influences vied with each other in the south-western peripheries of the former Indusian region in South Baluchistan, in outposts, for instance like Sutkagen Dor. One was megalithic from North Iran, which is evident in the cairn burial sites of Baluchistan and Persian Makran; these latter are again very much like those of similar sites in South India, as Sir Aurel Stein, Mortimer Wheeler and V. D. Krishnaswami etc. have shown; the dating is after 1500 B.C.;

(vi) the burial methods in both areas are also similar —post-exposure or excarnation; according to Diodorus, the dead body in the Baluchistan area was stripped of all clothes, and was devoured by birds and beasts of prey; apparently the bones were then deposited in their final resting place;

(vii) there are links between Sialk VI B in North Iran (about 1200-1000 B.C.) and the Baluchistan pottery known as the Londo ware, according to the discoverer of the latter, Beatrice de Cardi, like friezes of horses; she also admits the influence of Sialk VI B ideas (i.e. of a horse and iron people) on the Baluchistan cairn graves which were in the area of the Londo ware, although there is no Londo ware in these graves;

(viii) the net up-shot of all this is that it appears that people, immediately from South Baluchistan and Iran, with megalithic practices and use of iron, came to South India by at least 800-700 B.C., picking up the Black-and-Red ware somewhere in between from the Bronze Age Aryo-Dravidians;

(ix) the Aryan/Dravidian—megalith-builder contact is testified by the description of apparently megalithic rites in the *Rig-Veda* (X.15.14/VII 891), and in the *Shatapatha Brahmana* (XII.8.1-4). In the *Rigveda* the earthern tabernacle is referred to as *mrinmayam griham.*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(x) there are intermediate links—straggling remains of megaliths in-between; in Sindh at Wagodur, on the road to Shah Bilawal, and between Karachi and Kotri; near Delhi, at Deosa near Rajasthan; Khera near Fatehpur Sikri in Mirzapur district etc.

It would be plausible to assume, therefore, that the Dravidians in the Indusian outposts in Baluchistan and Southern Iran, probably never completely "Indusianised" in any case, came under the dual influence of megalithic folk from North Iran, on the move, using iron; and also of Aryan horsemen from Sialk VI B. They adopted some of their culture traits, and because of the superiority of their iron weapons, and the horse, could venture into fresh pastures. North West India was occupied by the Aryans, but probably these Dravidian megalith builders had a few thrusts there, as megaliths have been discovered in North-west India and Pakistan and as far north as Almora. The majority, however, apparently skirted to the south, both by land, and possibly via Saurashtra also, to the Mysore iron mines, where there are a large number of the South Indian megalithic sites. On the way they learnt the Black-and-Red ware, adopting local ceramics, as did the Aryans in the north; and they built extensively on older chalcolithic-neolithic sites.

B. B. Lal has shown the similarity between the megalithic practices and in the typology of grave goods between Nubia and South India, including the Black-and-Red ware type of firing. If there are, therefore, connections with Nubia also, they could have taken place *via* Yemen, the Hadhramut, the Baluchistan and Makran coast, and possibly Saurashtra.

It appears that the Aryan language pushed out the Munda in North and East India; and the Dravidian the Munda in South India. (We shall deal with this in chapter II). Languages, as is well-known, go out, when confronted by stronger ones, unless they have developed literatures, which are stoutly defended. If this is not the case, then by a process of *mimesis* (imitation), the conquered acquire the language of the conquerors. Thus, the pre-Indo-European languages went out of Europe, and survive only

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

in small pockets, like Basque. The pre-Greek languages, Etruscan etc. also disappeared before Indo-European. Even Greek in Anatolia went out before Turkish, as to the Anatolian peasants Classical Greek and Byzantine Greek were alike the language of exploiters as against the equality —foreboding *ghazis* of Islam. Nearer our times, the Africans taken to the United States became English-speaking. Romila Thapar has equated the spread of Indo-Aryan with the expansion of iron-technology and village economy in the Gangetic Valley; and correspondingly, she sees that "in the peninsula the area covered by the iron-using Megalithic culture roughly coincides with the area of wide-spread use of Dravidian language".[34]

We have evidence of this in Old Tamil, in the *Shangam* ("Assemblies") literature. This is dated, according to experts like V. Kanakasabhai, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar and K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, all independently, to a period 500 B.C. to 500 A.D.[35] Thus, the *Shangam* Age followed closely on the Iron Age megalithic intrusions. The description of funerary rites bears remarkable resemblance to the information that archaeology provides. The ancient Tamils knew and practised (a) cremation (b) urn burial (c) exposure of the dead for the vultures and jackals to eat; and (d) simple burial[36] *Naladiyar* makes a reference to the practice of leaving the dead body in the open for vultures to eat. The urn in which the bones were deposited was called *mudumakkal tali,* meaning "the urn of the departed ones".

We also hear much in Old Tamil literature of the *velirs* and their followers, the *velalars*. The *velirs,* supported by the kings, created Old Tamil literature. The great medieval Tamil commentator, Nachchinarkkiniyar, connects the *velirs* and the *velalars* with Agastya,[37] the Brahman who came from the North. This has led N. Subrahmanian to suspect that the *velirs* and the *velalars* were Indusian refugees.[38]

The *Shangam* literature devotes a good deal of space to military matters. The ancient people of Tamilaham were a warlike one, as the names of historic fighting kings like Karikalan, Nedunjelian, Senguthuvan, Narasimha Palla-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

van, Rajaraja Cholan and Rajendra Cholan indicate. The fighting tribes are named—the *Malavars, the Vallambars,* the *Paradavars etc.* Like warriors everywhere the Tamil warriors believed that death on the battle-field earned for them the joys of Heaven, of *Turkkam,* the equivalent of the Germanic Valhalla. Megalithic monuments, the *nadukal* and the *virakkal,* were erected in honour of fallen heroes. Murugan, the great Tamil god (later Subrahmanyam) is a warrior god. The *Koshars,* or Tulu warriors, apparently formed some kind of Praetorian Guard. A. L. Basham says,[39] "The ancient Tamil....was a man of very different stamp from his gentle and thoughtful descendant. Wild and ruthless, delighting in war and drink, worshipping fierce gods with bacchanalian dances, passionate in love...."

The evidence of archaeology and *shangam* literature thus makes it clear that warrior groups, speaking Dravidian, came to South India from South Iran and Baluchistan, from about 1000 B.C. or so, and took possession of the area, as other warriors, the Aryans, similarly took possession of the north.

Relative Smallness of Numbers of Warrior Invaders

In South India there is clear testimony, as has been pointed out, that the megalithic invaders, including warriors, were few. The occupation levels were thin, in some places less than four feet in depth. The warriors soon became cultivators, and some apparently became peaceful nomads, like the trading and cattle-breeding Todas, with their matriarchal *Teivaliol* and patriarchal *Tartharol* groupings.

The Bronze-using Aryans also apparently did not come in large numbers. Antennae swords, as has been pointed out, stopped in the mid-Gangetic Valley. Within the area of penetration also these swords were small in number, so much so that Mortimer Wheeler says, with good-humoured contempt, that they were "symbolic perhaps of rank rather than recurrent peril".[40]

The Iron Age Aryans also apparently did not spread beyond Kaushambi (Allahabad) as has been pointed out.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

In contrast with this are the tomb-remains of Eurasia. Everywhere, in Nalchik, Maikop, Kuban, Minusinsk, Chertomlyk, there is a profusion of arms-axes, daggers, spearheads, arrow-heads etc. Even as early as the Tripolye culture (near Kiev) *circa* 3000 B.C., with matrifocal feminine influence still strong (plethora of female statuettes), battle axes begin to be profuse.

The literary evidence also points to the confinement of the warrior nomads to basically the north-west, with intrusions to the Gangetic valley. Buddha Prakash, going by territorial distribution (the earliest to the east), speculates that the first group of Aryan-speaking intruders contained five important tribes—Krivi, Turvasu, Keshin, Srinjaya and Somaka, whom H. C. Ray Chaudhuri identified with the Panchalas, who ultimately took possession of Western Uttar Pradesh, as did their racial descendants, the Rohilla Afghans, about 3500 years later. The Krivis were apparently an indigenous group, friendly to the Aryans; the Turvasus, Central Asian; the Keshins perhaps the same as the Kassites, after whom possibly Kashi (Benares) was named; the Srinjayas, Parthians, or Central Asians, or Iranians (Drangians); the Somaka, Iranian, same as Haumavarga. In the Battle of the Ten Kings, mentioned in the *Rig Veda* (VII. 83.8), possibly circa 1600-1500 B.C., ten tribes are enumerated—Anu, Druhyu, Yadu, Turvasu, Puru, Alina, Paktha, Bhalana, Shiva and Vishanin. The Purus were apparently Iranian; so also seem to be the Anus, Druhyus, Yadus and Turvasus, with Central Asian background—the Central Asian tribes then were Iranian-speaking; the Alinas may have been the Alains or Sarmatians; or a totemistic tribe—*alina* (bee); the Pakthas have been identified with the Pakthoons; the Bhalanases seem to have something to do with the Bolan pass area and the Shiva (Siboi) with the Sibi region; the Vishanins, "horned people", appear to be militarised Indusian allies. The Yadavas were apparently the leaders of the expanding Black-and-Red ware people, to Saurashtra Rajasthan, Malwa, Saurashtra Central India, Maharashtra, the Gangetic Valley etc.

A third sub-wave of the Bronze-using Aryans consisted

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

of the Kurus. The Purus, Bharatas and Kurus merged. The Kurus were Irano-Turanian and have given their name to Kurukshetra ("Kuru-plain"). It has been suggested that the Iranian Kurush (Greek Cyrus) is really the same as Kuru.

The main point is that practically all these tribes seem to pertain wholly to the north-west. Buddha Prakash[42] has traced several tribes and Punjabi surnames to the invasions of various warlike groups, and his surmises may not be wholly fanciful. The picture which would then emerge would be as follows—

Vedic tribes (Vedas, Panini).

(i) Afghan—Hidda (Hrdgoliya), Andkhui (Andhakavartiya), Hunza (Hamsamarga). (ii) Border—Shinwaris (Asani), Karshbuns (Karshapana), Afridis (Aprita), Powindas (Pavinda), Wana tribes (Vanavya), Turi (Turvasu), Pakthoons (Paktha). (iii) Punjab—Sabarwal (Saubhreya), Batra (Varteya), Malava (e.g. Malava Sikhs), Puris, Salujas etc.

Iron-Age tribes

Badhwars, Bedis, Madans etc. from Madra, Mede; Kapurs from Arjunayanas (Arjuna—white), Virks (Vrikodar=Bheema), Johiyas (Yaudheyas, from Yudhisthir).

Greeks

Joneja, Aneja (Yavanaja).

Kushans

Khoslas (Kusulaka), Sahni, Osahan (Shahanushahi), Soi Sikka (Shaka), Tokhi (Tukhara or Tokharian), Kang (Kanka).

White Huns

Chawla (Jaula, the ruling clan of White Huns), Gujar, Khanna (Khionite).

Other Iranians

Mehra (Mihira, Sun-worshippers), Kambohs, Moghas (Magas) etc.

Other Central Asian

Behl, Bhalla (Bahlika or Central Asian), Sud, Suri, Sulki (Sulika, Sogdian).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Miscellaneous

Aroras (stateless mercenaries, Sanskrit *arashtrakas*, Prakrit *aratta*) ; Jats ("combined" republicans, *jata*) ; Khokharas (Karaskaras) etc.

The point to notice is that practically all these groups are largely confined to the north-west. Later on there were fighting republics in Eastern India (e.g. Mallas of Kusinara, Lichchavis of Vaishali etc.) and the White Huns spread to Rajasthan and North India. But round about 1000 B.C. the concentration was largely in the north-west.

According to the 1911 census, (when crossing over to higher groups for census purposes was more difficult psychologically than today) out of 68 million Muslims then, only 1.6 millions registered themselves as Sayyid (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), about 300,000 as Moghuls, and 3 1/2 million as Pathans. That is to say only about 8% of Muslim Indians claimed foreign descent. On this analogy people of Aryan descent would be about this number, mixed up with Adivasis. The rest would be of tribal descent, although they have switched over to Aryan languages. The dark skin colour of most Indians also supports this contention. People might object saying—the sun turns the skin-colour dark, languages do not change. Hence we must examine the questions of Race and Language. But before we do so let us try to follow the Aryan Trail.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 10

THE ARYAN TRAIL

MAX MUELLER, because of certain nineteenth century racist ideas, widely held in his time, started, the "Aryan" question in India, and this had both distracting as well as disastrous effects on Indian history-consciousness and on Indian politics. A lot of effort has gone to prove that upper caste Hindus are nearer the British, Germans, French, Americans and Russians than their own "low-caste" countrymen or "Semitic/"Oriental" Muslims. This theory is at the back of the Brahmin *v* Non-Brahmin agitation in parts of the Deccan and of South India; and of the notion that the Aryans "drove" the Dravidians from the North to South India.

Do we have an "Aryan" Trail in India? The Painted Grey Ware sites are associated with the places mentioned in the *Mahabharata,* and hence it has been assumed that the rulers there were Aryans. A few bones of a horse have been found, at a late level at Hastinapur,[1] and this has lent weight to the supposition. There is no anthropological evidence, as no burials have been recorded either for the Banas culture, the Copper Hoard culture, or the Painted Grey Ware Culture.[2] Apparently all the people concerned were cremated, an Aryan practice. There is no connecting link between the Indian Painted Grey Ware and the Painted Grey Ware found outside, in Thessaly, or in Seistan; or the earlier Painted Grey Ware in Anatolia and Sumeria (Uruk). The Gandhara Grave Culture has a Painted Grey Ware and iron, and Ahmad Hasan Dani has suggested that the Indian Doab ware may have developed from it.[3] But B. K. Thapar has pointed out that apart from the colour there are no specific resemblances between the two wares.[4] The distinctive type of the Gandhara Grave Culture is the tall drinking vase, while that of the Painted Grey Ware of India is the flat dish or *thali.* The Banas people, the Ochre Coloured Pottery People, the Painted Grey Ware people left no cultic objects. They were probably all aniconic.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

On the single ground, in effect, that the bones of a horse have been found at Hastinapur, B. B. Lal, N. R. Banerjee, B. K. Thapar *et al* have associated the Painted Grey Ware people with the Aryans and have excluded the Black-and-Red Ware peoples. The Grey Ware itself is no proof of anything, as B. K. Thapar states that it "seems to belong to the grey ware complex which had suddenly intruded upon the ceramic traditions of northern India towards the end of the third millennium B.C."[5], a gap of nearly 2,000 years, with no established intermediate links ! Hence, B. K. Thapar admits that the equation between the Painted Grey Ware and the Aryans is only a "surmise"..."without however any claim for definite assertion." D. D. Kosambi thinks that Painted Grey Ware is only "Puru-Kuru ceramics, not Aryan ware in general"[6], and the use of other types of ware in the Indo-Gangetic doab seems to prove the point. The inter-disciplinary approach, combining the literary with the archaeological, should yield more acceptable conclusions. B. K. Thapar, in the article cited, asks in bewilderment "are we to assume that the Aryans were migrants with no definite culture but with adherence to a linguistic equipment ?" This appears to have been the case, not only in India, but also in Iran. Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Greece. These warrior aristocrats carried their language, weapons, horses and chariots, drinking habits, turbulence, daring, and organising skill. No doubt some priests also accompanied them. Otherwise everything, women, food, pottery etc. they got locally, except where proven mass-movements took place. In India the warrior aristocrats did not come in large numbers, but in small ones, as we have seen. We do not know what they did with their horses. The thirteenth *khanda* of the *Shatapatha Brahmana,* dealing with the horse-sacrifice (*ashwamedha*) does not say how the horse was finally disposed of. Probably the dead carcasses of the animals, and their bones, ultimately found their way to some pond or river, beyond the reach of archaeologists, and the Hastinapur find is a lucky accident ! From the literary point of view, as we have seen, (the *Rig-Veda* and the *Mahabharata*) and the archaeological evidence of weapons,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the Banas, the Central Indian etc. Black-and-Red Ware, the Ochre-Coloured Pottery, the Painted Grey Ware all clearly pertain to vigorous, warlike peoples, and in the Indian context this can only mean Aryan-speakers; first, waves of bronze-users, then of iron users.

Some scholars postulated that the Aryans came to India from Iran, others from Central Asia, and still others from South Russia. Professor Marija Gimbutas and Russian archaeologists, and Gordon Childe earlier, prefer a Eurasian provenance, across the steppes, stretching from South Russia to the China border. Marija Gimbutas has summarised the relevant archaeological arguments,[7] and in conclusion she identifies the Aryans with the *Kurgan* (barrow burial) cultures, which had a wide extension, from the Volga, through the present-day Turkestan, to the Yenisei in Siberia (the Afanasyevo and Andronovo cultures). She sees these extending towards the end of the third millennium B.C., south-west, into the Caucasus, and westwards to the Black Sea area. Still later there is further extension, evidently as a conquering, invading movement, westward into Europe.

Her theory fits in with the linguistic picture which Professor E. G. Pulleyblank has drawn.[8] The whole of the area visualised by Marija Gimbutas was occupied by Aryan-speaking people of the *centum* group (word for "hundred" in Latin, in its hard *k* form—*kentum*). A verbal innovation led to the *centum-satem* split in some central area; the *satem* form then spread outwards to affect Baltic, Slavonic, Indo-Iranian and Armenian, but did not reach as far as Greek, Italic, Celtic and Germanic in the west, nor the extreme eastern dialects, bordering on China, like the Tokharian. Thus, a puzzling linguistic problem is solved.

It has proved a futile task to seek a pottery trail of the Aryans into India. The Aryans apparently carried no pottery (like other nomads they used leather bags, which perish) and adopted local ones, or modified them, or invented them afresh. They can be trailed by their weaponry, and indirect evidences of movement and organisation. Soviet scholars seem to think that they moved to

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

India, apparently ultimately from Afanasievo and Andronovo, but immediately from Central Asia *via* Tazabagyab[9]; and seeing that all later invaders in substantial numbers, like the Shakas, the White Huns, the Turks, the Moghuls, came this way, this seems highly plausible. This fits in also with the general picture drawn in Chapter 9 of a East-to-West and North-to-South movement of warrior nomads across the vast Eurasian steppes.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 11

RACE AND LANGUAGE

Thrust of the Arguments

IT IS sought to prove, in this chapter, that:

(i) originally, the population in India was Australoid, Dark Caucasoid, and the language was Munda-like; (ii) a Dark White Caucasoid strain, language Dravidian, set itself up in the North West, and moved out to various places, along with the Black-and-Red pottery, leaving pockets; but its main predominance was in South India, where it came later; (iii) a White Caucasoid strain intruded in the North-West, Aryan in language, of the Irano-Afghan (Nordic) type; (iv) the Aryans did not originate in India or in the Arctic, as some aver; (v) the population of India is mixed up, basically Australoido-Mediterranean, with infusions of the Irano-Afghan in the North-West; Kashmir is an exception, being more or less pure Mediterranean white; (vi) the dark colour of most Indians is due to miscegenation and hybridization, not the sun; we are nearer the *Adivasis* than the Europeans; (vii) language is no indication of race.

THE ECOLOGICAL BASIS

According to Carleton Coon,[1] there are six major racial groups in the world—Negroid, Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Bushmen, Australian, Pacific. The British Museum study *Races of Man* (London, 1963), edited by Sonia Cole, compresses this to four—Caucasoids, Australoids and Pacific Islanders, Mongoloids, and Negroids. It is thought that all the major races had differentiated before the end of the Pleistocene area, i.e. about 20,000 years ago.[2] Pigmentation is only one of the aspects of race. The usually studied ones are the head and nasal indices. The head (cephalic) index is the breadth/length ratio expressed as a percentage. Skulls are classified as follows:

Dolichocephalic (long and narrow), cephalic index (referred to as c.i.) less than 75.9.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Mescocephalic (medium), c.i. 76-80. 9.

Brachycephalic (short and broad), c.i. more than 81-0.

It is usual to add one to two points to the cranial index to make it comparable with the cephalic index on the living head.

The nasal index is the percentage ratio of breadth to height; on the skull, nasal classification is as follows:

Leptorrhine (narrow), nasal index less than 47.9.
Mesorrhine (medium), nasal index 48-52.9.
Platyrrhine (broad), nasal index more than 53.

Another important racial criterion is the blood group. This test shows that half the people of the world have blood which, if mixed with the blood of the other half, will clot it.[3] This is because of the production of proteins by particular genes, classified as A, B and O. All human beings are one of six kinds—AA, AB, AO, BB, BO and OO. And every group or society of human beings is mixed in respect of these genes and is characterised by the proportions of the four which are distinguishable: AB, AA and AO, BB and BO, and OO, or more simply, AB, A, B, O.[4] All human beings, down to the family level, are mixed or hybrid in respect of a dozen or more of gene-differences. The race-groupings, therefore, pertain only to statistical averages of external features. As man is an animal, the ecological rules which apply to animals regarding such features apply to him also. These are:[5]

(i) Gloger's Rule—Animals living in hot wet forests have black or red coats. (There is a pigment, melanin, in the epidermis, and the amount of melanin is inherited. The melanin helps in the absorption of the ultra-violet rays in the strong sun-light. If it were not there it would be dangerous to the body. In more temperate climates, or where the sunlight is not so strong, less melanin is required. Some ultra-violet rays have to penetrate so as to ensure the nesessary amount of Vitamin D).

(ii) Bergmann's Rule—Animals of given species are larger in colder regions and smaller in warmer ones. (For instance, the Polar bear compared to the brown bear, the Siberian tiger with the Bengal tiger and the European

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

with the pygmy. This is because of the need of warm-blooded animals to maintain a constant internal temperature. The higher the volume/surface-area ratio, the less the amount of radiation. Hence the largeness in colder areas).

(iii) Allen's Rule—Animals living in deserts or arid grasslands have longer extremities than those of the same, or closely related species, living in forests and mountains. (Gazelles, Nilotic Negroes, greyhounds etc. The extremities include ears, nose, legs, hands, tail etc. The Eskimos have very short legs, toes, fingers and noses. Desert dwellers, on the other hand, have long slender limbs and often prominent noses, which would soon get frozen in Siberia or Greenland).

As regards colour variation C. D. Darlington says[6] that where colour variation is present it is selected and distributed adaptively. But where it is not present it does not easily arise. Thus, the Mongoloids live over a range of 40° of latitude, in East Asia, and in the New World, without any colour variation.

Darlington thinks[7] that light brown or yellow was the original colour of mankind (so do the authors of the British museum study alluded to[8]) and that the Caucasoids in Europe became white, the Australoids in South Asia and Australia dark brown or black, and the Negroids in Africa black, all by independent mutations. This is because mutations involving increased pigmentation would be advantageous in the tropics and would therefore be encouraged by natural selection. Mutation towards blondness (lesser melanin in the epidermis) would be advantageous in relation to vitamin D formation in the more temperate latitudes, sunlight being absorbed more readily through lighter skins. The colour differentiation took place over a period of 500,000 years by mutation. But within the last 10,000 years apparently no gene mutation has taken place. This may be called Darlington's Thesis. The Mongoloid and Amerindian population in the tropics, for instance, have not developed darker pigmentation. Any darkness of colour must, therefore, have already

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

existed for 10,000 years; and if it has not, is due to hybridization or miscegenation.

Races in India

Many classifications about races in India have been made over the years, the most famous being those of H. H. Risley in 1904, J. H. Hutton in 1933 and B. S. Guha's modification of Hutton's scheme. The British Museum study of 1963, mentioned above, prefers the classification, made later, by Freiherr von Eickstedt. According to this "the inhabitants of India are predominantly Mediterranean in origin", not Veddoid.[9] The Southern group is called by Eickstedt 'Melanid', and the lighter Northern group 'Indid'. Both are lightly built, and generally long-headed. In addition, there are the "Irano-Afghans" in the north west-heavy build, large and long head, high-bridge and long nose, abundant beard and body hair. Apart from pigment they are of the same physical type as the Nordics.

To put it in another way we have the Dark Caucasoids, the Dark-white Caucasoids, and the White Caucasoids, besides the Mongoloids in the northern and eastern fringes. The Dark Caucasoids (Australoids) have long heads, are broad-nosed, and the black hair can be straight, wavy or curly. The Dark-white Caucasoids have light skins, are generally long headed and medium nosed, and with brown eyes. The White Caucasoids are tall, long-headed, fair-skinned, but generally with dark eyes and hair, though grey eyes, auburn hair, and even blondness occur in Swat, Chitral etc.

The British Museum study is of the view that the dark skin of the Veddoid is not due to Negrito miscegenation, as no remains resembling Negritos have turned up in ancient deposits, and therefore the very dark skin and "other so-called 'Negroid' characteristics of the Veddoids must be regarded as independent parallel mutations in climatically similar environments in Africa and India."[10]

We have seen in Chapter 5, pertaining to the Food-Gatherers, that there is every reason to presume that the Veddoids or Australoids were once widespread all over India.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The Advanced Hunters, mainly Mediterranean in race, were relatively few. (Chapter 6). The Matrifocal Agriculturists and Early Technologists, who came from West Asia (Chapter 7 and 8), were also probably mainly of the Mediterranean type. The warrior-aristocrats, also from outside, concentrated mainly in the North-West, as literary evidence indicates (Chapters 9 and 10) must have contributed to the "Irano-Afghan type" which one sees in the area. Thus, the Pakthas, Apritas etc., ancestors of Pakthoons, Afridis etc., as we have seen, were names of Vedic tribes.

Dark Colour of Most Indians Due to Miscegenation/Hybridization

The West Asians and the Eurasian warrior aristocrats are light-skinned while most Indians are dark-skinned. Some of the darkness is due to the sun's glare and heat, but most of it is not. Europeans remained fair in India, there are light-skinned people like the Kashmiris of the Plains, Parsees etc. The Arabs in much hotter areas, the Mongoloid and Amerindian peoples in the tropics have not developed darker pigmentation. Nor can the dark skin-colour of most Indians be due to gene-mutation, as under Darlington's Thesis no such mutation has taken place within about the last 10,000 years. The intruders came in thin streams, as we have seen, apparently mostly without their womenfolk. The then heavily forested country also must have been thinly populated. Hence, the most reasonable assumption is that large-scale miscegenation with the Australoids took place, giving the population its dark colour and broadish nose as compared to Mediterranean peoples. This is presumably included in the observation in the British Museum study referred to, that the "aborigines of India ... imparted to the Dravidian-speaking and Aryan-speaking invaders a genetic constitution well suited to local conditions."[11]

As we have seen (Chapter 9), the intrusions into South India from Iran were small. Hence the dark colour is more prevalent there than in the North, leading Eickstedt to differentiate, on colour grounds, between the Southern

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

"Melanids" and the Northern "Indids" though they both criss-cross, as anyone who knows India knows. In the North-west there is a heavier Irano-Afghan type where also the dark Australoid colour, suited to the earliest local conditions, has, to some extent, stuck. Only in Kashmir, where apparently there were few or no Australoids, is the population pure Mediterranean, mixed up with the Irano-Afghan type, with links with Central Asia and Iran.

The Irano-Afghan type remained more or less constricted to the North-West, according to literary evidence (Chapter 9). This is also borne out by anthropology, as G. S. Ghurye, for instance, has demonstrated,[12] using cephalic and nasal indices. The north-west is homogeneous racially; the Brahman of Uttar Pradesh has more in common with the people of the north-west, even with the low-caste Chuhra, than with any caste in his province, except the Chhatri. And the differential between the Uttar Pradesh Brahman and the Bihar Brahman is twice as much as that between the former and the Chuhra. But in both Uttar Pradesh and Bihar there are differences between the Brahman and other castes. In Bengal, this is not the case. The low-caste Chandal is not much differentiated from the Brahman, and between the Brahman and the Kayasth there is practically no difference. The same is the position in Maharashtra, where the Deshasth Brahman bears as close an affinity to the Son Koli, a fisherman caste, as to his own compeer, the Chitpavan Brahman. All this bear out the proposition that most of India is Australoido-Mediterranean, the proportions varying, with the Irano-Afghan more or less restricted to the North West.

The blood-group tests conducted by Miss E. W. E. Macfarlane, Irawati Karve and others give no clear correlation at all. But this negative conclusion is of positive purport. For, as D. N. Majumdar says,[13] "it may be assumed that the fluctuation of the percentages indicates considerable admixture between the various racial and cultural groups."

This extensive miscegenation is what we actually see in India. For instance, the highest group, the Brahmans, can look like anything, from South Europeans to Blacks.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

And if there has been no gene-mutation the dark colour can only be the consequence of hybridization. Hybridization must have occurred by polygamous marriages and by concubinage. Even in much later days there was no bar to men of "higher castes" marrying women of "lower castes" and this was known as *anuloma* marriage (along the hair, i.e. something quite natural, as against *pratiloma,* or against the hair). The offspring of *anuloma* marriages, at least with the next lower group, were treated as *"savarnas",* or of equal caste.[14]

Society was polygamous for those who could afford it. As in later Turkish times of *razm* and *bazm* (war and pleasure), the Indo-Aryan upper classes were, generally speaking, apparently completely libidinous. Food-gatherers for generations had been pulled out of the tribal bosom and forced to work as *shudra* helots, as Professor R. S. Sharma has demonstrated, and their women were treated no better by the conquerors.[15] Jain works of even succeeding periods show that numerous female slaves and maid-servants were recruited from tribal peoples.[16] They were so many that the Sanskrit dictionary, *Amarakosha,* uses the word *dasisabham* (multitude of female slaves) to illustrate plentifulness.[17] And these maid-servants were apparently used as concubines. The *Kamasutra of* Vatsyayana does not differentiate between such maid-servants and prostitutes.[18] And such maid-servants—350 in number—are mentioned as the concubines of Dasharatha, besides his four queens, in Valmiki's *Ramayana.*[19] Even the philosophical King Janaka of Mithila was polygamous, for he is stated to have handed over the baby Sita to his oldest wife for rearing up.[20] Such unrestricted polygamy and concubinage constituted the mechanics of hybridization among the Aryan-speakers. The same thing happened to the Turks and Mughals later on.

This is also borne out by the fact that the earliest Brahmans prized fair skin colour, and despised a dark one, while this attitude changed dramatically later. The grammarian Panini, for instance, declared blond hair as one of the essential qualities in a Brahman (*gaurah suchyacharah kapilah pingalakesha—Mahabhashya II.* 2.6). Further, in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the same stanza: "when one has seen a certain black person, the colour of a heap of black beans, seated in the marketplace, one definitely concludes (without enquiry) that is not a Brahman; one is (intuitively) convinced thereof." But *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (6.4.16) gives hints as how to beget "swarthy sons"! Obviously the climate of feeling had changed considerably.

In the dark colour is due to Australoid blood, as brought out above, and as most Indians are quite dark, it is clear that we are closer to the *Adivasis* than to Mediterranean men, and still further away from Nordic men, if except in the North-West, there is any kinship at all.

Aryans of Indian or Arctic Origin? an Ecological View

Nevertheless some scholars insist that there is such kinship and that the Aryans originated in India and emigrated to Europe. They would then say that they got bleached in colder climates. This is neither in accordance with archaeology nor anthropology. The Aryans were pre-eminently a horse people, and India is notoriously a poor horse-land. All through the ages good horses had to be imported—through Afghans, through the Portuguese, through others. The horse could not have originated in India, as under Allen's Rule such a gracile animal, with long extremities, could have evolved only in the steppes. The Aryans were fair, and hence they could not have, under Glover's Rule, originated in India. And even yellow peoples, like the Eskimos, living in the coldest climate in the world (the Arctic) have not been bleached, testifying to the truth of Darlington's Thesis. The Aryans were basically gracile, with long extremities. Raghu, for instance, is supposed to have had arms reaching to his knees (*Raghuvamsa* Canto III. 34). Under Allen's Rule, such beings could not have arisen in jungly India.

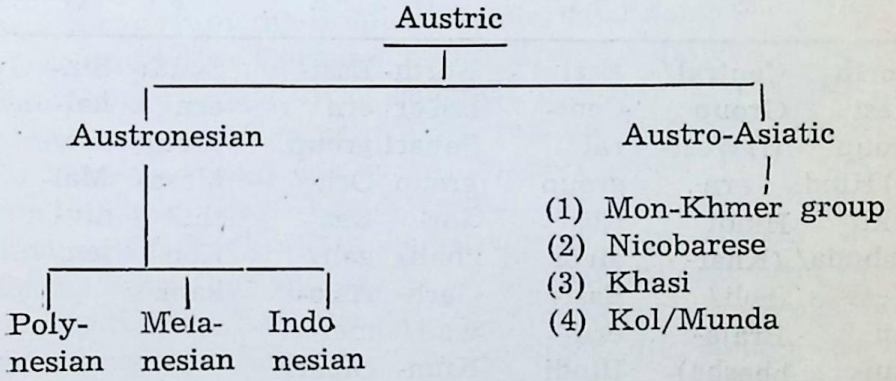
Here one may refer to Bal Gangadhar Tilak's theory about the Arctic origin of the Aryans. Tilak said that the year once commenced with Aditi at the vernal equinox in or near Punarvasu, i.e. in the Twin constellation of Gemini. If this be so then the twin stars, Castor and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

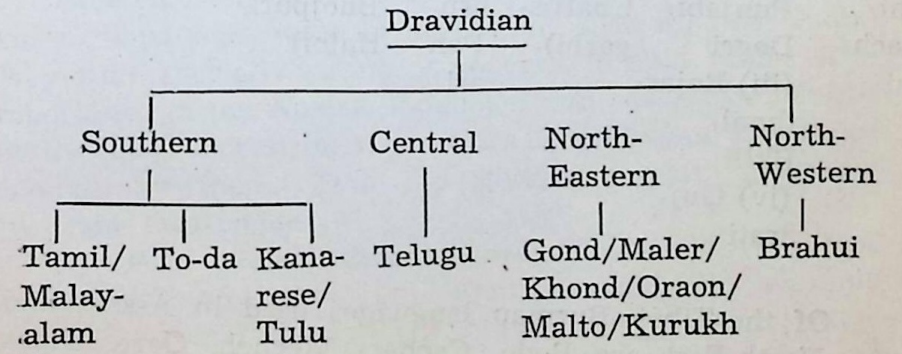
Pollux, represented by the *Ashvins* ("Horsemen") would herald the Arctic dawn appearing after the long Arctic night. On this basis, and certain astronomical calculations, Tilak placed the Vedas at about 4000 B.C. This is not supported by archaeology. Nor could horses have originated in the Arctic, under Allen's Law. But if the Aryans were once on the Afanasievo and Andronovo steppes (the Soviet-Marija Gimbutas—Pulleyblank theory) then they could have known about the Arctic dawn. Their priests and star-gazers were undoubtedly as clever as any of their descendants, and some memories of their stellar observations could well have been enshrined in the *Vedas*.

Languages

The main languages of India are of the Aryan, Dravidian and Austric families. The affiliations and interrelations of each of these groups are well-known, but are reproduced here for facility of recollection.



Examples of the Kol/Munda group are Santali, Ho, Mundari, Kurku, Savara, Gadaba etc.



Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai.

Indo-Iranian

Old Iranian (Avestan)	Dardic	Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic)
Middle Iranian (Pahlavi/Old Khotanese/ Sogdian etc.)	(i) Kafir group (Bashgali/ Pashai etc.)	Sans- Prak- Pali krit rits
	(ii) Khowar or Chitrali group	New Indo-Aryan Languages
New Iranian (Persian/Kurdish/ Pashto/Baluchi/ Ossetic)	(iii) Kashmiri group	

New Indo-Aryan

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
North-West group (i) Hindki/ Lahnda/ Western Punjabi (ii) Sindhi/ Kachchi	Central/ Group (i) Western Hindi (Khariboli/ Brajabhasha) (ii) Eastern Punjabi/ Dogri (iii) Rajasthani/ Bhili (iv) Gujarati	East Central group Kosali or Eastern Hindi (Awadhi/ Bagheli/ Chattisgarhi)	Northern or Pahari group Gorkhali/ Garhwali/ Kumaoni/ Western Pahari	Eastern group Oria/ Bengali/ Assamese/ Bihari (Maithili/ Magahi/ Bhojpuri/ Halbi)	Southern group Marathi/ Konkani	Sinhalese/ Maldivian	Gypsy.

Of the Tibeto-Burman languages used in Assam and the North-East are Bodo, Cachari, Mecheh, Garo, Tipra

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and various Naga languages. Meithei in Manipur also belongs to the Tibeto-Burman group as do the Tibetan dialects of Bhutan and Sikkim. Ahom, of the Sino-Tai group, is now more or less extinct as a spoken language.

Munda Survivals and Past Extent

The table given above shows how widespread the Austric languages once were. Even the spread of the Austro-Asiatic languages is considerable, from Central India right to Annam. Once they were much more widespread in India. J. Przyluski has given ample proof of the existence of Austric-speaking tribes like the Udumbaras in the Punjab.[21] A place known as "Munda-sthala" existed in South Rajasthan even in the 13th century.[22] In North Gujarat a town named Mundaka existed in the 11th century.[23] A copper plate grant of a Pallava prince mentions the word "Munda Rashtra" as existing near Nellore.[24] And does "Mundigak" near Kandahar carry some memory of the original Munda inhabitants?

According to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee[25] the word *Gang* (Bengali-river, channel) probably is of Austric origin. Ganga (Ganges), Kong (e.g. in Mekong), Kiang (in Yang-tse-kiang) all appear to be related. Place and tribal names like Kosala-Tosala, Anga-Vanga-Kalinga-Pundra-Rarh-Andhra-Pulinda all appear to be Austric. In Bengal Tamralipti appears to be the Sanskritised form of *Dam-lip-ti*. Thus Kab-dak and *Dam-dak* became Kapotakshi and Damodar in Sanskrit. The word *dah, dih, daha* means a place full of water and is found in names like Seal-dah, Jhenai-dah, etc.

Thus, there is strong circumstantial evidence that the Austric languages were in use at one time all over India. They were specially strong, it appears, in East India. The importance of the Austric languages can readily be gauged by the large spectrum in modern Indo-Aryan languages covered by them. Thus, to give examples, following Professor Chatterjee:

(i) Rice, *chawal*—from cham-la "food", derived from Munda jom—to eat. (ii) Banana (*kadali*), coconut (*narikela*), betel (*tambula*), brinjal or egg-plant (*vatin-*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

gana), pumpkin (*alabu*), lime (*nimbuka*), rose-apple (*jambu*). (iii) Cotton (*karpasa*), silk-cotton (*salmali*). (iv) Domestic fowl (*kukkuta*), peacock (*marak*), elephant (*matanga, gaja*). (v) Arrow (*bana*), stick, phallus, plough (*langula, linga* etc.)

The last grouping in the list above was demonstrated by Jean Przyluski, the same word being used for digging-stick, hoe, phallus, etc.—*linga, lakuta, laguda, langula, langala* etc. (Transformed in Dravidian to Nangal). We have seen in Chapter 7 that the Eastern Neolithic may have been as old as 2500-2000 B.C. And in chapter 9 that the only cereal used by the Iron-using Aryans at Hastinapur was rice. Wheat had not supplanted it in that area as yet. So the iron plough of the Second Wave of Aryans was nothing new. Only the material was different, and the old name stuck, proving also that the overwhelming majority of people were Munda-speaking, who retained the old word for such a common and useful thing.

Dravidian Survivals and Past Extent

Dravidian is not the language of the South Deccan alone. As the tabulation given earlier shows, there is a North-Eastern group, like Kurukh and Oraon in Chota Nagpur, and Malto in the Rajmahal Hills. Dravidian survives in Bengali in place names with the sound *rh* (Tamil, Malayalam—*zh*). Thus *rhah* (Howrhah, Rishrhah, Bankurhah),—*gurhi* (Shilligurhi, Jalpaigurhi),—*jurh* (*Domjurh*). Place names ending in—*juli* (Nayanguli),—*jol* (Narhajol)—*bhita*,—*kunda* are also Dravidian.

The Dravidian *rh* sound also survives in such Punjabi surnames as *Choprha, Dhingrha, Arhorha* etc. Apparently Dravidian and Vedic came early into contact, which could have been only in the north-west, the arguments for which will be given soon. The existence of Brahui, a Dravidian tongue, in Baluchistan, spoken by a people Iranian in physiognomy, is well-known.

According to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee,[26] the Vedic speech already had many non-Aryan words with Dravidian affinities, and was profoundly Dravidian in its use of the cerebral sounds t d n l sh, which are not used

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

by any other Indo-European speaking group. Professor T. Burrow, of Oxford, has demonstrated the wide intrusion of Dravidian into all parts of the Sanskrit vocabulary. A few instances are given below :[27]

Dravidian	*Sanskrit*
Kanarese-alasa	Alasa-lazy
Tamil-anal	Anala-fire
Tamil-kokku	Kanka-heron
Tamil-katu	Katu-sharp,
Kanarese-kadu	fierce
Tamil-kalur	Kalusa-turbid
Tamil-kakkai	Kaka-crow
Tamil-kotu, kuta	Kut-to be crooked
Tamil-kuti	Kuti-hut
Tamil-kuntar	Kuntala-hair
Tamil-Kuvalai	Kuvalaya-lotus
Tamil-kon	Kona-corner
Tamil-kalam	Khala-threshing floor
Kanarese-gonnepuru	Ghuna-wood-worm
Tamil-cumpu	Cumb-to kiss
Tamil-tamarai	Tamarasa-lotus
Kanarese-tar	Taka-palm-tree
Tamil-tuvar	Tubara-astringent
Kanarese-negar	Nakra-crocodile
Tamil &	
Kanarese-nir	Nira-water
Tamil-pullavu/pulal	Pala/palala-flesh
Tamil and	
Kanarese-palli	Palli-lizard
Tamil-valam	Bala-strength
Tamil-mokkul	Mukula-bud
Tamil-mallai	Mallika-jasmine
Kanarese-lole	Lala-saliva
Tamil-valai	Valaya-bracelet

Jean Przyluski relates the word *Gandhara* in north-west India to Dravidian words for the horse—*kudirei, kudri, kudira, kudure.*[28] In Tamil it is now *kutirai,* in Kanarese *kudure,* in Telugu *Gurr.* Apparently the original Dravidian word was *ghutra/ghotra* (which is onoma-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

topoeic), which became Sanskritised into *ghotak*, and survives in the popular term in North India—*ghorha*. Although horse-bones occur late in Indian archaeology (circa 1000 B.C.), the Indusians must have known of horses earlier, seen some of these, and been terrified by them. Later they may have got over the fright and traded in them to some extent, if S. R. Rao's discoveries of horse-bones in Saurashtra Indusian sites are accepted. But the old name stuck, and the Dravidian word for horse persisted among a people predominantly non-Aryan speaking in origin, as contrasted to Iran, where the Irano-Afghan type swamped others, and the word for horse *aspa* (Sanskrit *ashva*), survives in the Modern Iranian *asb*.

Dravidian covers a wide spectrum in the modern Indo-Aryan languages. Taking Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee as a guide, among Dravidian legacies we have:

(i) *Puja* (worship), with flowers, leaves, fruits, water etc. as opposed to *homa* or *yajna* (sacrifice). *Puja*=Pu-je, flower ritual.
(ii) Shiva or Chivan=Red.
(iii) Shambhu (Shiva)=Chempu or Sambu—red metal or copper.
(iv) Rudhra (red), later Rudra.
(v) Uma, from Ma, mother.
(vi) Durga.
(vii) Vishnu=blue god (Tamil *vis* sky).
(viii) Garuda bird—Tamil *karhu*—kite, eagle.
(ix) Hanuman—Tamil *anmanti*, male monkey.

Thus a good deal of Hindu mythology is Dravidian in origin. Dravidian also is Murugan (Subrahmanya) or Kartikeya; and words like *roopa* (beauty), *kala* (art) and *pura* (city).

Thus Dravidian is *the* language in the South Deccan. According to Irawati Karve: "The Marathi language has also a considerable number of words of Dravidian origin in its vocabulary since the earliest times."[29] There are Dravidian pockets in the North-East—Gond, Maler, Khond, Oraon, Malto, Kurukh. Bengali has a submerged Dravidian substratum. Either there was a thrust from the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

South, or the Black-and-Red Ware people from the Harappan area carried Dravidian as well as Aryan tongues. The latter hypothesis becomes plausible in the light of the Dravidian survival in the North-West-Brahui; and still more, in the early influencing of Sanskrit by Dravidian, which is so fundamental, as we have seen, that the encounter producing it could have taken place only in the first area of contact, i.e. in the north-west. The Dravidians here were absorbed by the Aryan-speakers. The Dravidians in the South were a fresh wave from Iran and Baluchistan, as we have seen in Chapter 10. Irawati Karve's words in this connection are very apt[30]: "If one reads carefully the ritual, the philosophical and the epic literature, one is struck again and again by the number and variety of observations made therein. The early literature has given the names of people they met and sometimes also their descriptions. In none of these does the word Dravida occur, neither does the appellation "noseless" applied to the jungle people, suit the Dravidians. The word Dravida or Dramida occurs in the epic as applied to people of the south and a beautiful similie characterises a custom (wearing of flower-wreaths on the hair by men—*the author*) which is even now found only in Dravidian India. The Dravidian people themselves, barring the kings who claim descent from the Sun and Moon dynasty of the north, have no traditions connecting them with the north. The glimpse we get of the Dravidian people in Sanskrit, Pali and in the earliest Tamil literature is that of a prosperous people settled firmly in the south, having a great culture, a sea-faring tradition with rich and busy harbours and powerful southern kingdoms from where they expanded in all directions.....The picture is that of a vigorous expanding culture which does not agree with a tradition of continuous retreat of a thousand miles through the length of a whole sub-continent."

Indeed, the traditional picture given over the last two hundred years, of the Aryans driving the Dravidians to the South is a complete myth, based on not a shred of evidence, direct or circumstantial.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Language Changes : Aryanisation and Dravidisation

Race and language are not synonymous, as has been mentioned earlier. The pre-historic tongues of Europe gave way to Indo-European, surviving only in pockets like Basque.* The physically European people of Hungary adopted the Finno-Ugrian Hungarian, as did the Finns, racially akin to the Swedes, a tongue of the same family (Finno-Ugrian) group. Anatolian peasants have switched over from pre-Greek tongues to Turkish; Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians all have taken to Arabic; and the Negroes of North America speak only English. We find the same picture nearer home. Thus, the Bhils and the Oraons have racial affinity, according to physical anthropology. But the Bhils speak an Aryan tongue and the Oraons Dravidian. To give another example, the Austro-Asiatic languages and race do not go together, as the following data show:

Name of people	*Habitat*	*Language spoken*	*Race*
Chenchu	S. India	Chenchu (Dravidian)	Australoid
Malser	—do—	Malser (Dravidian)	—do—
Gond	Central India	Gondi (Dravidian)	—do—
Bhil	Western India	Bhili (Aryan)	—do—
Santal	West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	Santali (Austric)	—do—
Khasi	Assam	Khasi (Austric)	Palaeo-Mongoloid
Nicobarese	Nicobar Island	Nicobari (Austric)	—do—
Mon	Burma	Mon (Austric)	Brachycephalic Palaeo-Mongoloid

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Cambodian	Cambodia	Khmer (Austric)	Palaeo-Mongoloid
Semang	Malaya	Semang (Austric)	Negrito
Sakai	Malaya	Sakai (Austric)	Negrito

It appears that if literatures are not developed or if languages do not have the desired flexibility then the language of the conquerors are adopted, possibly by *mimesis* (imitation) or through miscegenation of peoples. The change-over of languages is still taking place in India.[31] Thus, in Central and East India most tribes are bilingual, speaking their own tongues plus either Hindi, Oriya or Bengali. Thus, the Oraons and Munda speak Hindi, the Santhal, Bengali. The Baigas have completely lost their language and speak Chattisgarhi, a Hindi dialect. Similarly tribes in the South have switched over from their own tongues to Dravidian. The Kadar of Travancore-Cochin, credited by some as being among the oldest inhabitants of India, speak a Malayalam dialect. Similar to the Aryanisation of the Baiga and the Bhil, there has been Dravidianization of significant South Indian tribes like the Chenchu and the Yenadi. The Munda tongues lack the verb, and sex-differentiation, the only classificatory device being the categorization of the animate and inanimate. No wonder it lost to such powerful tongues as the Aryan and the Dravidian.

Many names were being continuously changed by the Aryan-speakers. Thus *Ka-Mei-kha* became Kamakhya; *Dam-lipti,* Tamralipti; *Kab-dak,* Kapotakshi; the Tibeto-Burman *Di-stang* or *Ti-sta,* Trisrota; and so on.

A Racial-cum-Linguistic History of Early India—an Outline

Using all the facts and circumstantial evidence given above we can now draw an objective racial-cum-linguistic history of Early India.

(i) The Negrito trail in India is very weak. The first inhabitants were apparently mainly Australoids who spoke

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Austric tongues like Munda. They were Dark Caucasoids, short, broadnosed, long-headed. At one time the whole of South East Asia, and even South China upto early Chou times (1100-720 B.C.) spoke such languages.[32]

(ii) We have already given evidence of the wide-spread use of Munda-type tongues all over India. Austric tribes like the Udumbaras existed in the Punjab in early days, as Jean Przyluski has shown.[33] S. P. Tolstov thinks that "Munda" and "Dravidian" type peoples existed right up to Chorasmia in those days.[34] In East India there is evidence for rice cultivation by this people as far back as 2500-2000 B.C.

(iii) Over this Australoid, Munda-speaking substratum came the Dravidian-speaking Indusians, from Iran, to Sindh and the Punjab about the 4th millennium B.C. (The evidence for this will be given in Chapter 13). They were Dark-white Caucasoids, basically long-headed and narrow or medium-nosed (Mediterranean type). They have left the Brahui pocket in Baluchistan. S. P. Tolstov, in the paper cited, suggests that the Dravido-Mundas of Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan were the *Dasyus* and *Dasas* of the Vedic Aryans, and the *Dahae* of the Iranian Aryans. Hirkania, at the south-eastern shore of the Caspian Sea was at one time named Dikhistan after them. Daghestan is supposed to refer to them. Herodotus also mentions the Dahae. When this region in Eurasia became open to the influence of Finno-Ugrian peoples and languages the Dahae were still there. A group among them may have gone to South India via Iran. Such a supposition would explain the similarities in vocabulary and linguistic structure between Munda-Dravidian and the Finno-Ugrian group of the Ural-Altaic languages noticed by Caldwell, Schrader, Burrow, Hevesy, Uxbond and B. Banerjee. The fact that some people in Afghanistan, Central Asia and Iran tan easily may be accounted for by the genes of the *Dahae*. For, according to Darlington's thesis, mutations leading to darker pigmentation have not occurred in historic times.

(iv) The Bronze Age Aryans (Irano-Afghan physical type) from Iran and Turan (1800 B.C. onwards) were partly responsible for the downfall of the Indusian cities,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

as has been made clear in Chapter 9. They mixed with the Dravidians and Mundas there and spread, as the Black-and-Red Ware people, to the Banas Valley, Malwa, Gujarat, Central India, and Maharashtra, with thrusts to the Gangetic Valley. In the Upper Gangetic Valley, intermingling with the local Munds (1400 B. C. circa onwards) led to the rise of the Ochre Coloured Pottery—Copper Hoard cultures. The groups concerned may have carried both Dravidian and Aryan languages, the Indusian peasant-urban system, and fertility and other cults of the Indus region. They may have been round-heads, and left traces of this in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Bengal. Later on, in Gujarat, there were other Iranian intrusions, leading to more albinization of the elite groups. In far-away Bengal the dark colour stuck, but the round-head genes were strong enough to be felt. This sort of racial picture accords also with Hoernle's famous theory of the "Outer Band" of Aryan languages. Later on, the long-headed Iron-using Aryans punctured this band, but the broad-heads at the two ends—Gujarat and Bengal, remained to testify to the earlier stratum.

(v) From 1000 B.C. onwards came the White Caucasoids (Irano-Afghan type), the Iron-using Aryans, from Central Asia. With their iron tools and ploughs they opened up the jungly and marshy Gangetic Valley. The Australoids, by a process of *mimesis*, miscegenation and hybridization adopted their language and culture. As the Iron-using Aryans did not penetrate further east, beyond Bihar, till much later, the traces of Dravidian, left by some of the Black-and-Red Ware people, are stronger in Bengal than elsewhere in the Gangetic Valley.

(vi) Almost simultaneously, Dravidian-speakers from Iran, having learnt of the horse and iron from the Aryans, and of megalith graves and the Black-and-Red Ware from others, took possession of South India. Their Dravidian speech supplanted the original Munda. They were Dark-white Caucasoids—the Mediterranean type.

(vii) According to Bermann's Rule, people native to colder areas are generally bigger. Today proper nutrition and dietetic care is counteracting this to some extent.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

But in those days we did not have this method of change in any wide scale. The relative smallness of the Indian peoples compared to Europeans must therefore mean that the proportion of White Caucasoid genes in India is small, perhaps very small, except in the North-West.

(viii) The Indians are also relatively dark, even in the Punjab. According to Darlington's Thesis, gene-mutation for dark pigmentation has not occurred in about 10,000 years. Therefore, Indian darkness, even in the Punjab, after making some allowance for tanning, must be mainly due to hybridization of the White Caucasoids by the vastly superior-in-numbers Dark Caucasoids (Australoids-Mundas). To put it another way, the elite classes were partially albinized in the process, as happened under the Turko-Mughals. Manu's tirades against miscegeneation, *varna-samkara,* are well-known. But Manu came much later, and the facts of anthropology prove that Manu and his successors bolted the door after the horse of "racial purity" had already fled.

(ix) Thus, as the Rev. Father Heras has pointed out, the Punjabis may be purer "Dravidians" (Dark-White Caucasoids) than the Dravidian-speaking South Indians, who are largely "Australoids" (Dark Caucasoids).[35]

(x) A strain of Mongoloid blood is apparent in the northern fringes, and in the East (Bengal/Orissa/Assam Plains), giving a pale colour to certain people in these regions.

(xi) In Hills Assam, Bhutan, Sikkim, parts of Nepal, Manipur etc. the Mongoloid blood is evident.

(xii) Some possibly Polynesian-Indonesian genes may be scattered in Kerala (on the way to Madagascar ?).

(xiii) The various groups criss-crossed all over India and mixed, so that the blood-groups are inextricably integrated.

(xiv) The Southern Mundas adopted, by *mimesis,* the Dravidian tongue of their Dark-White iron-using masters, while in the north the Northern Mundas, by the same process, and for the same reasons, adopted Aryan tongues. Thus the Aryo-Dravidian dichotomy is racially meaningless.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Aryan-Dravidian Racial Dichotomy Idea

Although the Aryan-Dravidian racial dichotomy idea, on linguistic lines, is false, it has, because the prejudice has been so widely held, had deplorable effects on Indian life. One result of the prejudice is to think of the North and the South as differing in race, although both are basically Australoid in sub-stratum, with a Dark-white admixture, apparently largely in the elite groups. Probably this miscegenation has taken place more in the North than in the South; and the North-West is largely mixed Irano-Afghan in race, superimposed on the Australoid substratum. In spite of these truths the erroneous doctrine of the Dravidians having been pushed back by the Aryans has contributed to North-South tensions, the anti-Hindi agitation in the South etc. It is also partially to blame for the Brahman *v* Non-Brahman tension and for Jyotiba Phule's attacks on the Brahmans of Maharashtra in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly in his *Gulamgiri* (1873).

Within an area also the upper castes and classes have tended to think of themselves as pure Aryans and looked down upon "lower" classes as descendants of aborigines. In other words, they think of themselves as nearer the British, the Swedes, Americans and Russians rather than the "lower" castes, leave alone the *Adivasis*. This has contributed, perhaps sub-consciously, to the callous attitude to lower castes which is one of the reasons for the slow implementation of our development plans.

The fact is, as has been brought out in this chapter, that basically all of us Indians are racially the same, except the white Kashmiris, and to a partial extent, many in the elite groups, specially in the North West. In any case, except for the Kashmiris, we are all very much mixed up and are nearer the *Adivasis* in race than the European. This realisation should have a great liberalising effect in class and regional relations, and lead to a better emotional integration of the Indian people. It will facilitate inter-provincial, and inter-caste marriages, and increase the versatility of the genetic reservoir, which may well have been affected, for the worse, by in-breeding for centuries

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

ever since caste became rigid. Indeed, the main theme in Professor C. D. Darlington's book—*The Evolution of Man and Society* (London, 1969)—is that the progress of mankind has been due to hybridization. And if we profit from the learning of Europeans and Americans in science and technology, then why not in genetics?

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 12

THE ERA OF PRIMITIVE SIMILARITY

Configurational Dynamics

Five Factors are involved in "configurational dynamics"—geography, natural resources, external forces or geopolitics, class relations, and the traditions of the past. How did they affect India during the Era of Primitive Similarity, when life was relatively primitive, but each stage in any society in the world similar to the same stage in other societies in Values and Institutions?

The Food-gathering stage started over 25,000 years ago. It came about by external stimuli and migration—chopping and flake tools from China and South East Asia, hand-axes from Africa, advanced flake-tools from Central Asia. The Advanced Hunting stage started about 15,000 years ago and was mainly confined to the forests of Gujarat and Central Asia. It apparently owed its inspiration to East Africa.

The Matrifocal Agricultural stage came to India, about the 4th millennium B.C., from Iran, *via* Afghanistan and Baluchistan, to North-West India; a neolithic (matrifocal-agriculturist) civilization grew up south of the Godavari from about 2000 B.C., apparently by "stimulus diffusion" from North West India; an isolated hunting-peasant village culture grew up in Kashmir and the Kangra valley from about 2400 B.C., with links with Central Asia and China; from about 2500-2000 B.C. a megalithic, stone-shouldered hoe culture, rice-using, peasant-village, came to East India from the South China-South East Asia area. After 1400 B.C., peasant-village cultures spread from the North West into the Gangetic Valley, under the leadership of Bronze-Age Aryans and Indusian priests. From about 1000 B.C. or so, a Dravidian-speaking neolithic culture, led by warriors accompanied by technicians, spread to South India, from Iran and Baluchistan.

The early Technologists came to India from Iran about the 4th millennium B.C., and spread to North West India

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and Gujarat. The higher groups—priest-engineers—became priests, Brahmans, founded and ruled over the Indusian society (evidence will be given in chapter 13), while the lower groups became artisans. After the fall of the Indusians the invading Bronze Age Aryans, from 1400 B.C., accompanied by priests and technicians, lead the dispersal of the knowledge of metallurgy and technology from the Harappan area to Central India, Maharashtra and Bengal; and to the Gangetic Valley ("Copper Hoard" culture). Later, the Iron Age Aryans went from the North West to Bihar for iron-extraction, from about 1000 B.C., and the food-gatherers working for them came to be called *asuras* after them as this was then apparently the opprobious epithet applied to the Iron-using Aryans by their forerunners, the Bronze-using Aryans. Later, from about 800-700 B.C., Dravidian-speakers from Iran made way by sea and land to the iron mines of Mysore and spread the knowledge of metallurgy to South India.

The Warrior-Nomads came as Bronze Age Aryans from the 18th century B.C., bringing the horse and the chariot; Iron Age Aryans from the 10th century B.C.; the riding Kushans (Shakas), 300-200 B.C.; Gujars and White Huns, 4th-5th centuries A.D.; Turks with cavalry horse, metal stirrup and compound reflex bow from the 12th century A.D.; Mughals with artillery from the 16th century A.D., and Uzbegs with infantry with rifles from about the same time. The earlier invaders interacted with the descendants of Indusian priests, who deeply influenced them, and absorbed them. The Turks, Mughals etc. came as convert-members of a Theo-Aristocratic West Asian (Islamic) Civilization, and also became Indianised.

Thus, in all cases the positive deciding factor was geo-politics, or external relations. Geography and Natural Resources acted in a negative way. The hot, humid climate foreclosed the possibility of the existence of big game animals like the mammoth, mastodon, wild aurochs etc. (under Bergman's Rule). A Big-Game Hunting Culture with its traditions of organised violence and interest in weaponry, therefore, did not grow up, as it did in West Europe. Similarly, the comparative absence of readily

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

exploitable sources of tin and copper prevented the growth of a strong technological society. In the absence of wild cereals the peasant-village system did not develop *sui generis,* as it did in areas like West Asia where such wild crops were to be found. Not being a temperate land India was not a horse country, and therefore did not generate a speedy, horse-using culture. Nature has been very harsh and cruel to India giving it, as it did to Africa and South East Asia, an initial crippling blow.

Important Legacies

From the Food-Gathering stage—Pacifism, a certain slipshodness; the idea of a spiritual substance pervading the entire Universe; idea of differing spiritual or psychic voltages in different groups and peoples; ideas of pollution and taboo; ideas of reincarnation and transmigration of souls.

From the Advanced Hunters—As India was relatively by-passed by this stage, relative weakness of traditions of organised violence, martial virtues, strong in-group feelings, desire for improving weaponry etc.

From Matrifocal Agriculturists—This stage was widespread. Hence, sharp impress of certain of its characteristics—adherence to traditions, rituals and superstitions; back-breaking, plodding work; domesticity.

From Early Technologists—As only small groups came to India and spread out thin the tendency was for monopoly of knowledge and of its conservation rather than innovation. This was enough for keeping down the servile food-gatherers. The absence of competition also made these groups conservative.

From Warrior nomads—fighting traditions. It appears that the original *Kshatriyas* more or less wiped each other out, except for the republicans of the North West, who became Pathans, Jats etc. All became mixed up with fighting Adivasis, through polygamy and concubinage. The Maratha fighting tradition may have begun with the *Shakas,* organising a peasantry on a hard land. Later, all over, the 'theo' element, easy life and *la dolce vita* in a land full of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

docile servants (out of peacable food-gatherers ultimately) diluted martial virtues.

Lessons

Some very important lessons flow from our historic experience from the days of the Era of Primitive Simplicity—We are largely the descendants of peaceful food-gatherers and domesticated peasants, relatively weak, compared say to Europe or Japan, in fighting traditions, except, to some extent, in the North West.

—We have weak technological traditions, due to Nature's unkindness in denying us readily exploitable sources of tin and copper.

—We are racially all mixed-up, except in isolated Kashmir ; and except in the North-West, we are basically one people racially, more akin to the Adivasis than to the Swede, Briton, American or Russian. Even for the North-West this proposition may generally hold good, except for elite groups.

Importance Of The Era

The Food-Gathering Stage started about 25,000 years ago, the Indus civilization about 5,000 years ago (in its "pre-Harappan" form). Therefore, about eighty per cent of our history—as those of other societies—belong to the Era of Primitive Similarity. "Civilized history" is like an ice-berg, with most of it submerged, belonging to the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology. Without the perspective given by a unified archaeological-anthropological-historical approach we will largely be slaves of rhetorical prejudices, leading to hate, tensions and wars. This is what has happened on a world-wide scale. Hence it is very necessary to give to the period before recorded history and literary traditions the great importance that it justly deserves.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

PART THREE

THE ERA OF THEOCRATIC DIVERGENCE

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 13

STAGE 6—THE THEO-TECHNOCRATS —THE INITIAL BRAHMANS

ORIGINS

IT HAS been stated that the urban "Harappan" civilisation in the North-West, from about 2100 B.C. to 1700 B.C., was unchanging, with the same type of houses, pottery, tools etc. for four hundred years. Therefore, the argument proceeds, according to some, that it must have been foreign, and the nearest source in time being in Sumer in Iraq (Mesopotamia), Sumerian. But this is not plausible, for various reasons, as follows:

(i) lack of the Mesopotamian ziggurat, cuneiform and cylinder seals;

(ii) no Mesopotamian-type shaft-hole axes; or median ridge on axes;

(iii) no Mesopotamian-type filigree work;

(iv) the script on the Indus seals is quite different from anything in the land of the Two Rivers;

(v) the bricks are baked, not of dried mud, as in Mesopotamia;

(vi) there is, unlike as in Mesopotamia, an elaborate town-planning and drainage system.

Therefore, the Harappan civilization must be held to be *sui generis*. But the Harappan is a ready-made one, with cities, drains, weights, measures, granaries. There are seventy or so odd "pre-Harappan" Indusian sites, and the archaeologist is increasing the number. How could a civilization, if it is not imported, arise ready-made, like Minerva from the helmet of Zeus? The only reasonable way out is to postulate, as Robert Redfield does for urban civilizations, in general in *Comparative Studies in Cultures and Civilizations* with Milton Singer, Chicago, 1953; *Peasant Society and Culture,* Chicago, 1953; and *The Primitive World and its Transformations,* New York, 1967) and S. C. Malik, translating Redfield's ideas, for the Indus Valley in particular,[1]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

that it was a case of transformation of indigenous folk and peasant societies into a 'primary civilization'. The Allchins suggest that "a large if not a major element in the Harappan civilization must derive from the pre-Harappan culture of the Indus Valley itself".[2] Romila Thapar says that the "pre-Harappan cultures" were the precursors of the Harappan.[3] Mortimer Wheeler has found the "pre-Harappan" below the Harappan in Harappa itself.[4] The whole problem of the origin of "Harappan" civilization can be solved, therefore, if one takes a perspective view and considers the "pre-Harappan" sites along with the Harappan. The "Harappan" of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro is then seen as only a portion, in time, of the total civilization, which may conveniently be termed the Indusian.

Configurational Dynamics

The deciding factor was the conquest of Nature—the use of "Natural Resources". In the 4th millennium B.C. several river valley civilizations arose—the Sumerian (Tigris-Euphrates), the Egyptian (Nile), and the Harappan; later came the Chinese (Hwang-ho). Rushton Coulborn postulates[5] that due to the warming up of the earth in the Boreal phase, which began about the 9th millennium B.C., former riverine marshy areas now became possible of control and so of cultivation; there was gradual desication in the neighbouring areas (significantly, they are all deserts now); and consequent population pressure. Migrants, therefore, went to the riverine areas. Migrants are susceptible to charismatic leadership, and to new ideologies, because they leave old moorings. The charismatic leadership was that of priest engineers, with new irrigation techniques and possibly star-lore, of use in agriculture, and the new ideologies those of water deities. The new leadership got together a conglomeration of neolithic peasant societies, practising agricultural fertility rites, made them one, and created an agricultural surplus, on the strength of which urban life began. We have seen, in Chapter 7, that the neolithic and chalcolithic came together, from Iran and Baluchistan, into India in the 4th millennium B.C. The charismatic leaders from the Iranian plateau and hills built

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

up the Indusian river-valley civilization on this peasant-base.

Life Course

The life course of the Indusian Civilization can be divided into four phases:

I Early—3100-2100 B.C., Birth and growth
II Middle—2100-1700 B.C., Development
III New or Colonial (Gujarat)—1900-1700 B.C., (overlapping with Phase II).
IV Late, Radiation outwards—1700-1000 B.C.

In phase I we have sites at places like Amri, Tharro, Kothras Buthi, Pandi Wahi, Ghazi Shah, Kot Diji, Kalibangan ("Black Bangles") on the Ghaggar River (old Saraswati—"Full of Waters"). Everywhere we have raised platforms for buildings. At Kot Diji and Kali Bangan there are massive defensive walls and ramparts. Everywhere there is beautiful painted pottery. The fish-scale motif, later found in Harappan sites, occur, as well as terracotta bulls, and anticipation of Harappan type ware, like offering stands. The tools and implements are mainly of bone and stone, some of copper. There are evidences of conflagaration at some sites, and subsequently Harappan type ware.

Phase II is what is traditionally known as the Harappan of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. These are characterised by raised platforms for settlement; massive defensive walls; small settlements; citadel and lower town (west and east respectively); inundation irrigation techniques through small dams; elaborate city construction on grid pattern, and sanitary arrangements; standard weights and measures; woven cotton; tools and weapons of copper and bronze, ornaments of copper, bronze, silver and gold; flat axes, no median ridge, no shaft-hole axes, no change in weapons; substantial houses and granaries. Complete absence of art in the buildings—no frescoes, wall-paintings, decorations; coolie-lines type of barracks in eastern part; plethora of goddess figurines; horned deity seal; the Great Bath; the sacred bull seals; many other steatite seals with as yet undeciphered writing. Red or

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

pink pottery with black or bichrome black and white painting.

In Phase III Gujarat became a colony of the Indusian people. There are many sites—Lothal, Rangpur, Rojdi, Somnath etc. etc. From about 1900 B.C. a new style of pottery arose—Cream-slipped Black-and-Red Ware, with new style of paintings—realistic animal forms, antelopes, bulls etc. A lustrous Red pottery appeared. Town planning and drainage disappeared towards the end, as if the charisma of the rulers had been shattered.

The same charisma—destruction and end to town planning, and massacres, took place in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, as we have seen in Chapter 9. Apparently floods, tectonic movements, change of the river course, barbarian warrior inroads all came together. It was as if a Brahmanic *Satya Yuga* or Golden Age had ended in catastrophe.

In Phase IV the Indusian peasant system and culture spread, along with a Black-and-Red Ware, and a new kind of copper and bronze weapons (shaft hole axes, swords with median ridges etc.) to the Banas Valley/Malwa/Maharashtra/Central India/Bengal, as we have seen in Chapter 9. Another line of radiation was to the Gangetic Valley, creating the Copper Hoard-cum-Ochre Coloured Pottery culture. Everywhere there is reason to believe, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 9, that the leaders were Bronze-Age Aryans.

A Society of Priest-Technicians

The Indus Valley civilisation was undoubtedly a technocratic one. The Allchins, impartial foreigners, amplifying Gordon Childe, say that in town planning, crafts and industries it was far superior to those of Egypt and Mesopotamia.[6] The small-scale irrigation methods, wells, short-length canals came right at the beginning of Phase II to produce a grain surplus. It is well known that the flooding of a river like the Indus and its tributaries raises beds and banks. On this rich flooded soil seeds can just be thrown and a good crop is ensured. But the plough was known to the Indusians, as the furrow marks in a field outside the fortification of Kalibangan show. The massive

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

walls, the raised platforms, were apparently flood-protection devices. Other aspects of technology, of a very high order for those times, mentioned earlier, also occur right at the beginning of Indusian civilization. It was, therefore, clearly a technocratic one.

There is strong evidence that it was also theocratic. Physical force was apparently not its mainstay. Its spears were weak, it had no swords, and only a few stone arrow-heads. D. D. Kosambi says that it was weak in its mechanism of organised violence.[7] On the other hand, there is clear evidence of a strong religious-ceremonial authority. The Great Bath of Mohenjo-Daro, Kosambi says, was not meant just for cleanliness, but for a ritual purpose.[8] It was a pond, a *pushkara,* and its steps the *ghats* of a place of pilgrimage, a *tirtha,* a pond from which religious *apsarases,* holy maidens, sacred prostitutes like the Babylonian *Kadishtu* and its sub-divisions, the *Kizreti, ukhati* and *kharimati,* rose "fairer from the waves" to perform religious ceremonies in the Great Temple.[9] There was apparently no efficient police system, and the rich merchants had to have plain blank facades to their houses, except for drainage chutes, and entrance had to be furtively through narrow doors in narrow lanes at right angles to the main streets.[10] Clearly, the sanction behind rulership was not the fear of force, but something else. This could have been only ideological, or in terms of those days "religious". Stuart Piggott has called the uniformity of technology of the Harappan phase as of "competent dullness" and the Allchins think that this is because of an "other-worldly" consciousness.[11] All this can only mean that the rulers were priests, and because of their high technological achievements, priest-technocrats. The priests were technologist-wizards from the Iranian hills, and apart from their water-control methods, which gave them a charismatic hold over the simple population, they must have relied also, to go by Sumerian and Egyptian analogy, on their knowledge of astronomy and their prediction and prescription of days for the start, progress and end of agricultural operations, to hold down in awe

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the credulous peasants. They must have come from outside, and an additional reason in support of this contention, over and above that of the spread of neolithic-chalcolithic culture eastwards, from Iran, is the nature of the sacred bull on the Indus seals. It is the West Asian humpless type before which there are standards, never before the Indian *zebu* or humped variety.[12]

Water Cults

Water control implies water cults. We have more female figurines than males among the terra-cottas, and they were obviously fertility deities. It appears that they were the proto-types of Lakshmi, Sarasvati and Durga. Lakshmi is sometimes referred to in the *Puranas* as *jyestha* ("the elder one"), is connected with the waters in her *Gaja-Lakshmi* (Lakshmi bathed by the elephants) form, and is associated with water and the lotus. Indra, the god of the Aryans, is made to pay a long homage to her, by the descendants of her Brahman votaries, in the *Vishnu Purana* (I. 9. 117-133). Sarasvati ("She of the waters") is always connected with the waters. As the goddess of learning and of the crafts she was a patroness of the Brahmans. She goes back to pre-Aryan times as there is an incident in the Puranas about Brahma's infatuation for her, his own daughter. This memory is undoubtedly a later patriarchal version of a far-away matrilineal practice when such marriages were common. The essential portion of Durga Puja is a fertility cult for more grains, centring round the *purna ghata* full of water, placed on the centre of the *yantra,* a diagram on clay, centre of which is a lotus with eight petals, the whole having, according to D. P. Chattopadhyay, a sacred coital symbolism.[13] The worship of the fertility goddesses, in disguised form, continues in the Eastern *cul-de-sac,* where the gap between the Black-and-Red Ware people who brought this Indusian civilization (circa 800 B.C.?) and the "Aryan" colonisation (Gupta period, from about the 4th century A. D. or so) is about 1200 years, a long period during which the matrilineal ideas could strike deep root.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Language of Indusian Rulers—Dravidians ?

The language of the Indusian rulers is still unknown. The script on the seals has not been read as yet, to the satisfaction of all scholars, despite many attempts to do so, and several claims. It bears little relation to the scripts of West Asia. The *Rig Vedic* Aryans found the language of the inhabitants alien and called it *mridhravach*—evil tongued. *"Meluhha"* occurring in the tablets of Sargon of Akhad (circa 2300 B.C.) a country with which the Sumerians had trading relations, is supposed to refer to the Indusian area. If *Meluhha* is the same as *mlechcha*, as has been thought, then the Indusians did not speak an Aryan tongue, as *mlechcha* was to the Aryans a term of opprobium. Soviet scientists led by Y. Knorozov and Finnish, led by Asko Parpola, have subjected the 350 odd characters of the Indus seals to rigorous computer analyses.[14] The Indusian script is a suffixing language, according to their studies, as is Dravidian. Aryan languages are prefixing, Munda infixing, Semitic languages trilateral (all the three), the Altaic languages (Turko-Tatar, Mongolian, Tunguric) etc. suffixing. Therefore, if the Indusian tongue is related to any of these, it can be either Altaic or Dravidian. Round about 3000 B.C. the Turko Tatars, Mongols etc. were nowhere in Central Asia, as we have seen in Chapter 9. By elimination this leaves Dravidian. Or it could have been an entirely different, suffixing language. But we have seen in Chapter 11 that Dravidian interpenetrated Sanskrit at a very early stage. Therefore, all the circumstantial evidence points to the Indusian tongue having been Dravidian.

It could not, from the cultural angle also, have been Aryan for reasons pointed out by N. R. Banerjee, Romila Thapar etc.[15], as follows:

(i) the Indusian civilization was urban, the Vedic Aryan, pastoral and rural;

(ii) the Indusians had a fertility religion, full of phallic symbols; the Aryans hated these *sisna-devah;*

(iii) the Indusians had a script, the Aryans did not; and when they came to acquire one, it was different;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(iv) the Indusians buried their dead, the Aryans cremated them;

(v) the technologies were different; the Indusians did not have the Aryan median ridge in weapons, shaft-hole axes etc.

(vi) the Aryans were eminently a horse people, the Indusians were not.

Some scholars, like T. N. Ramachandran and K. N. Shastri have linked certain Vedic cultic practices with archaeological finds. This only proves, in the light of all other evidence, that the Indusian Brahmans gradually assumed charge of the priestly functions of their strong-armed Aryan conquerors and that this came to be reflected in the Aryan Vedas.

The Dravidian-Speaking Indusian Priests—the first Brahmans? the Concepts of Brahma-Shakti

We have, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, assumed that the Dravidian-speaking Indusian rulers were Brahmans. This has now to be defined more clearly.

The Aryans were proud patriarchal people and descent was strictly in the male line. On this basis the genealogy of the Brahmans should be clearly masculine. But this is not so; D. D. Kosambi has studied the origin of the Brahman *gotras* ('cow-pens', family groups),[16] and the results are very interesting indeed. Many Brahmans were *Kumbha-yonijas,* or born out of jars, representing the womb. This is how later Aryan patriarchal tradition explained the matrilineal descent of the Brahman seers—Agastya and Vashishtha were born of wombs. Vashishta's birth story in the *Rig Veda* (VII. 33) is peculiar. He is connected with *apsarases* (holy water maidens of the Great Bath?), particularly Urvashi, but begotten of the seed of *two* Vedic gods, Mitra and Varuna, obviously a later Aryan concoction to give him a male genealogy.[17] The Rigvedic seer Kavasa Ailusa was a *dasyah putra,* son of a Dasa or aboriginal woman. So was Vatsa, son of Kanva. Dirghatamas was the son of Mamata, a *dasi,* or aboriginal woman. Traitana, himself a *dasa,* tried to behead him, apparently on behalf of Indra. The blinded Dirghatamas

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

floated eastward on the river, and later found honour among strange peoples, apparently one of those priest-engineers who stimulated the Ochre Coloured Pottery—Copper Hoard Culture. Even much later, in Upanishadic times, seers are still known by the names of their mothers, and their fathers are unknown. Thus, Mahidas Aitareya (of the Aitareya Upanishad fame, son of Itara, a "low class" woman), and Satyakama Jabal.

The earliest Brahman families were eight—Bhrigu, Angiras, Marichi (whose son was Kashyap), Atri, Vashishtha, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu.[18] Of these the Atris and Kashyaps, according to tradition, had a later origin. The Pulastyas, Pulahas and Kratus had no true Brahman offspring. Apparently they were Indusian Brahmans who resisted the Aryans to the last and were not taken over to the Aryan fold. Ravana was, it is interesting to know, a Paulastya Brahman. The Bhargavas, descendants of Bhrigu, were *purohitas* or priests to anti-Aryan *daitya* kings, like Hiranyakashipu[19], an ancillary priest being a Vashishtha. Cyavana was an early Bhargava, and his descendants were connected with West India.[20] (the Black-and-Red Ware people of Saurashtra and Maharashtra?) Other early Bhargavas were clearly associated with *daityas,* the enemies of the Aryans; for instance, Ushanas-Shukra and Shanda and Marka. The Angirases and Kanvas were closely connected. The Kanvas were, for long, excluded from the Rig-Veda, along with the Kashyaps, as unfit for sacrificial fees.[21] The Atris were of later origin (which is obscure), and the Vashishthas, it has been pointed out, were of matrilineal descent. Thus, none of the original Brahman families are of initial Aryan descent.

There is evidence that the Indusian priest-rulers were Brahmans. Indra, the conquering Aryan, incurred the sin of Brahmanicide by killing Vritra and Namuchi.[22] Among those who resisted Indra were the *Varashikhas,* and the *Valashikha gotra* of the Vashishthas are supposed to be related to them.[23]

The circumstantial evidence is thus strong that the original Brahmans were not Rigvedic Aryans, but were

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Indusian priest-rulers who later became amalgamated, as we shall see, with the Aryans.

When the chalcolithic—neolithic farmers came down from the uplands of Iran to Afghanistan and Baluchistan and then the Punjab and Sindh, they came into contact with simple and unassuming food-gathering tribes and primitive hunters. Like other such peoples with Consciousness I ethos they believed in totem and taboo. Everything had spiritual energy or soul substance, and their soul-force was obviously weaker than that of the magicians who had such control over Nature. They avoided the Iranian neolithic-chalcolithic peoples, and specially their leaders. They were taboo, lest contact with them became disastrous. The leaders of the small incursionist groups (Early Technologists—Consciousness IV) must have seen that this was to their advantage, and they benefitted from the taboo idea. Thus, the concept of pollution was utilised to the advantage of the incursionists. To this day this soul force idea, in its original taboo form, is found among primitive tribes in India. Thus, the *bonga* concept of the Hos of Chota Nagpur.[24] Out of such primitive taboo and pollution ideas the original caste system, with its basis in the ideas of soul-substance or spiritual energy, *Brahma Teja* or *Brahma Shakti*, grew up.

Caste and Jati System. The coolies and the slaves in the eastern lower town may well have been Untouchables and the Brahmans of the Citadel in the West, with their ritual bathing, the purest, who were not to be polluted. If they were, their soul-substance or spiritual energy, *Brahma Teja* or *Brahma Shakti*, would burn up the presumptuous Untouchable. In-between there were traders, peasants, food-gathering and hunting tribes. They could not be treated as harshly as the Untouchables of the lower town. Nor was it necessary to do so. By a system of interdependence of labour and service, and gradings according to soul-force, or shakti (*vaishya shakti* for instance) an elaborate control mechanism could be, and was built up. It would have to be an essential part of the system to prohibit free mobility of labour, and the doctrine of soul-force must have come handy to ensure this. It is

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

only a step from this to the sanctification of the hereditary nature of occupations and of rules of descent-reckoning. Thus the caste-system was born.

Such taboo, and even pollution ideas, are found elsewhere. Thus, in Oceania, among the Indonesians, Melanesians and Polynesians, with concepts like *mana* or soul-force. The early Japanese also had ideas, leading to the segregation of a class of untouchables, the Eta. Descent-reckoning was very important in Polynesia for ritual and other purposes. But nowhere, except in India, did the configuration impel the necessitation of a caste-system.

Today, the caste-system in India has many facets and ramifications. G. S. Ghurye summarises its main features as follows :[25]

(i) segmental division of society ;
(ii) hierarchy ;
(iii) restriction on feeding and social intercourse ;
(iv) civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections ;
(v) lack of unrestricted choice of occupation ;
(vi) restriction on marriage

Ghurye has elaborated these fully and includes in them facets high-lighted differently by others. For instance, Romila Thapar gives the following four main features :[26]

(i) marriage and lineage through exogamous and endogamous kinship relations ;
(ii) division of labour into a hierarchical system/ service relationships ;
(iii) idea of pollution ;
(iv) association of castes according to particular geographic locations.

It is very likely that the Indusian caste-system had all the elements mentioned by Romila Thapar. These constitute what is known in India as the *jati* system. The Aryans, when they first came to India, used the word *varna* ("colour") to distinguish between two groups, the *Arya* and the *dasyu*. There is only a single mention of the four-fold system in the *Rig-Veda* (X. 90. 12), which is in a late *mandala* (portion). Later on, as Romila Thapar has pointed out, the two *varnas* expanded to

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

four to incorporate all the endogamous groups into a single pattern. She speculates that the *jati* arrangements may well reflect the pre-Aryan aspect of the caste-structure.[27]

The noted anthropologist, S. C. Roy, held that the Hindu caste system is the outcome of the interpenetration of the Indo-Aryan *varna* system, the tribal system of the pre-Dravidian and the occupational class system of the Dravidian.[28] If we try to fit these concepts into the Indusian and post-Indusian systems, we get the following equations :

Jati System
(i) occupational basis= Dravidian=Brahman priests and traders/coolies and slaves (Untouchables)
(ii) Tribal basis=regional basis =proto-Australoid (Munda) food-gatherers and primitive hunters.

Varna System
(i) occupational basis, expanded to include warriors (*kshatriyas*).
(ii) tribal-regional basis.
(iii) Both (i) and (ii) included or forced into a four-fold division—Brahmans/Kshatriyas/Vaishyas/Shudras.

The distinction between the *varna* pattern and the *jati* structure is now widely realised. For instance, the studies of Richard G. Fox in the *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Ann Arbor, Michigan) on *varna* schemes and ideological integration.

Foreigners have been puzzled and intrigued by the ramifications of caste and its hereditary nature. Western scholars have racked their brains over it ever since Garcia de Orta noted it in 1563 and gave it the name *casta*. Carleton Coon considers the arrangements approaching "in magnitude the ecological division of labour among animal species in a natural province".[29]

The Indusian system was held together by the *jati* form of caste-structure and the concept of different soul-force for different occupational groups, especially for the Brahmans with the powers obtained by their austerities, or *tapas*. As Romila Thapar has said, this sort of structure localised many of the functions which normally would be

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

associated with despotism.[30] And hence, it was an efficient organisation for survival against powerful odds, as history has proved although at a terrible cost for the submerged ones.

Priest Rulers Against Innovation

The Indusian merchants traded with Mesopotamia, as the evidence of their seals indicate. Yet they never took to the median ridge and the shaft-hole axes of the Sumerians, nor their long canals, about which they must have known. Why ? Because, it seems certain, as D. D. Kosambi says, it did not profit them to do so, being servants of masters who, as priests, were satisfied with their knowledge, and were against all innovations.[31]

Religious Tolerance and Syncretism

Two continuing traits of the Brahmans showed up even at this early date—religious tolerance, and the gift of syncretism. Each group, each stage of society, had its own deities, and they co-existed.

The Food-Gatherers and Hunters had their tree and animal deities. The four sacred trees still worshipped today—*Asvattha, Pippal, Plaksa* and *Udumbara* may well have been worshipped by the Indusians. It is significant that there is even today a group, among the Vishwamitra and Kashyap Brahmans, known as the Udumbaras. The *pippal* leaf was, judging from the seals, apparently sacred.

Many animals appear on the Indus seals and amulets. Many human figures, male and female, have horns on the head, and long tails; they sometimes have the hind legs and hoofs of cattle. Standards or mangers are shown on seals before the humpless cattle, elephant, bison, rhinoceros and tiger. So it is natural to presume that these were all sacred. Susna, whom Kutsa, the Aryan, destroyed, wore horns (R V. 1.33.12). A non-Aryan tribe taking part in the Battle of the Ten Kings wore a horned headdress, *vishanina* (R V. 7.18.7). Elsewhere, this is known as *vrishashipra* (bull head-dress) (R V. 7.99.4). These may well have been the priests of food-gathering peoples. Mahishasura could have been the proto-type of a food-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

gathering-cum-hunting ruler, and Durga's victory over him that of a matrifocal neolithic-chalcolithic people over the primitive hunters and food-gatherers. There are animal-human and composite animal combinations on seals—human-tiger, bull-elephant, ram-bull-elephant etc. Indra is supposed to have destroyed the *shakhas* or branches of the sacred *Sama Veda Samhita;* seven survived, and they have strange names—probably belonging to animals, one, *Sarduliya* ("of the Tiger") indubitably so.[32] Even much later, the names of some of the Upanishads, philosophical books, still bear traces of animal totemistic origins. Thus, *Shvetashvatara* (white mule), *Mandukya* (frog), *Kaushitaki* (owl), *Taittiriya* (*tittiri,* a kind of partridge). The Aryans, like the Indusians, no doubt had their totems also, and some of the Upanishadic totem names could have been Aryan. But it is clear from what has been said that food-gathering cults played a great part in the early Indusian scene.

The peasants indubitably worshipped mother-goddesses. It has already been stated that more female figurines are found among the terra-cottas than male ones, and they are obviously fertility deities. The goddesses have a minimum of modelling of the body, and their comparative crudeness has made Professor A. L. Basham think that they were mass produced by humble potters to meet popular demand, and that the mother-goddess was not much favoured by the upper classes, who commanded the services of the best craftsmen.[33] There is an Indus seal where the deity, the chief worshipper, and the seven votaries may all be female. D. P. Chattopadhyay identified the deity with Durga in her *Shakambhari* (herb/vegetable bearing) form.[34]

Another evidence of the importance of fertility cults in the Indus Valley is the reputed tiff between the Aryan Indra and Ushas on the Beas River, when Usha's ox-cart was smashed. Ushas is supposed to have had twenty one names, known only to her priestly initiates.[35] Ushas is apparently etymologically akin to the Greek *Eos* ("Dawn") but the name may be a cover for many older fertility goddesses, for Ushas' behaviour is more like that of Ishtar

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

than that of a goddess of patrilineal origin. The water-goddesses, Lakshmi and Saraswati, and proto-Durga have already been mentioned.

As befits a society with a strongly matrifocal peasant constituent, women must have been in the forefront of affairs, and not only as *apsarases,* powerful holy maidens. Indra had to fight not only the Brahman Namuchi, but his army of women (RV. 5.30), at which the great warrior laughed. The tradition of these priestesses survived among the Aryans, who prayed to Maghavan to strike down the "sorceresses" (*yatumatinam*) of the ruined cities (RV. 1.133.3).

The traders (*pani* of the later Aryans ?) may have had their own cultic practices. The seals probably pertained mainly to them, and these show male animals, and where identifiable, male human figures, not female.[36]

Basham's view that the mother goddess was not much favoured by the upper classes has been mentioned. The ruling priests had undoubtedly to be deeply involved in the fertility cults practised by a most important segment of their subjects. But they apparently had a syncretic deity also, who appears in one of the Indus seals. He is seated in a Yogic posture, upon a low throne flanked by antelopes, wears a great horned head-dress, has three faces (*trimurti*), and has a large phallus, which is exposed. In the Rig-Veda there is a three-headed deity, Dasa, whom Indra struck (R. V. 10.99.6). Elsewhere he is called Vishwarup ("Form of the Universe", an abstract concept), the son of Tvashta, also three-headed. (RV. 2.11.19/10.8.7/10.8.8/10.8.9). There are some hymns in the *Rig Veda* in praise of Tvashta, although he is connected with the Dasyus. He is the god of creation. He forges Indra's thunder (*vajra*), and makes the drinking bowls of the gods. He also created pairs of wild animals. When Indra struck Tvashta or Tvashtra, one of the heads became a *tattiri,* or partridge. One Tvashtra was a great Upanishadic teacher. Evidently the Brahmans continued to worship Tvashta the technocrat creator-god, even after they became Aryan-speaking. The *Trimurti* on the seals is basically Shiva in his Pashupati ("Lord of Animals")

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

form, but the other two heads undoubtedly represent the creator-god Tvashta of the Brahmans (later Brahma) and proto-Vishnu of possibly the traders. Originally Vishnu was not an Aryan deity, and in the Rig Veda he is reviled as a usurper of demon wealth by fraud, guile, disguise, magic power etc.[37], epithets reserved by the conquering warrior-nomads for the trading *panis* with their sharp practices.

We thus have the superior priest-technocrats, the merchants, the peasants, and the food-gatherers-hunters, each with their cultic practices. And the mother goddesses, water-goddesses and the three-headed syncretic deity, no doubt, in the *sanctum sanctorum* of the great Citadel-Temple-Sacred Bath complex.

Indusian Religious Practices, Devices Ideologies—Yoga, Tapasya, Mnemonic Methods, Tantra, Sankhya

The Indus Valley script has not yet been deciphered. Hence, archaeology cannot as yet give clues to Indusian religious ideas. So one has to fall back on literary tradition and circumstantial evidence. *Tapas* or austere practices came earlier than the Aryan *yajna* or sacrifice. *Tapas* is supposed to lead the practitioner to the acquisition of supernatural, occult powers. The *danavas* (anti-Aryan) were noted for *tapas and tapasya,* and the *Puranas* are full of stories of Indra's apprehensions about seers (*munis* and *rishis*) practising such austerities and acquiring such immense magic strength thereby so as to become powerful enough to snatch away his throne from him. According to ancient tradition the cult of *yajna* or sacrifice (Iranian-*yasna*) is supposed to have started in the *Dvapara* age with Divodasa and Sudasa, who are associated with Aryan conquests and victories.[39] The Aryan warrior hordes, like the Mycenaeans and Dorians, believed in sacrifices to propitiate deities, who were like comrades, and in getting boons from them as a *quid pro quo.* The Brahman of the Indus Valley, like his contemporary on the Nile, was a magician, a *hike*-man (Egyptian-magic, religion) who was convinced and convinced others, that by

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

magic obtained through *tapas* he could have power, natural and supernatural, over all things and all beings.

What his lore was is still secret, and he devised fantastic mnemonic methods to keep it confined to his class. We know of this from the practices of his descendants. The teacher would instruct a few students seated on the ground, by rote, and verse after verse would be repeated for hours daily until one or more was mastered. The hymns were sung or intoned, for better memorization. Sometimes, when they were difficult, they were taught in more than one way, first with the words connected, then in their isolated form (*padaptha*), then with words interwoven in ab, bc, cd pattern (*kramapatha*), or in even more complicated ways.[40] Thus, the Vedas were preserved orally, without writing, for several millennia—quite contrary to the methods used by Indo-European priests elsewhere. The circumstantial evidence is strong that it was the Indusian Brahmans who devised the semnemoic methods to keep their knowledge secret and esoteric.

What sort of ideas and ideology did the Indusian Brahmans hide by such methods? The posture of the three-headed god indicate that *yoga* may have been one. *Yoga* in India is often connected with *tantra* (fertility) cults and *mantra* (magic spells) practices. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee has observed that Hindu tradition is conscious of two sets of philosophies, practices and rituals—the *agama* and the *nigama*. The *nigama* is Vedic, Aryan, where the *homa* or fire sacrifice to the gods is the most noteworthy feature. *Agama* is Tantric and *Puranic*, with *yoga* as a special form of mystico-religious ideology and practice.[41] The *agama* tradition survived in *culs-de-sac* like Bengal, Assam, Nepal etc. As Sister Nivedita has said in her *Footfalls of Indian History*, a geographical *cul-de-sac* is always the place to look for customs and institutions disintegrated elsewhere by external influences. The plethora of mother-goddess figurines and the matrifocal-agricultural matrix of the Indus Valley civilization lends support to D. P. Chattopadhyay's contention that the *Shakta* doctrine, extolling the "Female Principle" (like Egyptian Isis) goes back to the Indusian Brahmans.[42]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

On the same grounds he would derive the abtruse dualist philosophy of *Sankhya,* with its interplay of Female (*Prakriti*) and Male (*Purusha*) forces, the former more important, to the Indusians.[43] Like the *agama* tradition there are survivals of the *Sankhya* one in *culs-de-sac,* in place-names like Kapilavastu in Nepal and Kapilmunni in the Ganges Delta in Bengal.

Comparison With Other Theo-Technocracies

It would be instructive to compare the Indusian River Valley Civilization with the others—Sumerian (from about 3200 B.C.), Egyptian (from about the same time), Chinese (Hwang-ho) (from about 2500 B.C.), Peruvian, from about 1200 B.C., & Mayan, from about 500 B.C. We can do so function by function.

1. *Science & Technology—Thinking*

Basic Attitude—Initially innovating, but knowledge and understanding held to be a gift of the gods and goddesses. Monopoly of knowledge after a time, suppression of ideas and of free thought. Scholasticism only thereafter, rote learning, dependence on teachers.

In all the river valley civilizations science and technology appear right at the beginning and there is stagnation thereafter as exemplified below :

(a) Sumeria—By first phase, Jemdet Nsar (3200-2800 B.C.) all the technological achievements arrived at—water control in each city state, perennial irrigation system, weights, measures, water clocks, calendar, oracles or quffa, cuneiform etc.

(b) Egypt—science and technology developed by the time of the Proto-Dynastic and the Old Kingdom (3100—2200 B.C.). Basin irrigation, surgery, medical papyrii, hieroglyphs, hieratic writings, pyramids, stone portraits.

(c) Hwang-ho Civilization—Picture blurred as earlier evidence destroyed by the Chou (11th century B.C.) and later edited and re-edited. But the agricultural "Little Calendar of the Hsia" apparently came very early, and earlier bronzes were better than the later ones.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(d) Peruvian—By first phase (1200—400 B.C.), pottery, maize, under-water irrigation reservoirs, terracing, stone dry masonry, weaving.

(e) Mayan—By first phase (500 B.C.-325 A.D.) control of swamps, pottery, hieroglyphs, calendar, pyramids.

(f) Indus Valley—In first phase, by 2100 B.C., pottery, massive defence walls, raised platforms. All science and technology developed by second phase, 1700 B.C.

2. *Economy—Work, duty.*

3. *Politics/Administration/MilitaryAffairs—Fighting, Duty, Justice.*

. Basic Attitudes—To work-under priestly leadership; priests rule through charisma and organisational control.

To Duty—Responsibility to priests, who are governed by their ideologies and the ceremonies and rituals which follow.

To Fighting—Pacifism, defences relatively neglected.

(a) Sumeria—Temple communities under sheriffs of the deity, the *sangu* and the *nubanda.* Temple codes. Careful classification of the land; standard costing; budgetting.

(b) Egypt—the Pharaoh, controlling the Nile, was the theocratic ruler, the Divine Victim of fertility rites (in earlier days), embodiment of *maat*—truth, justice, order. Egypt was his divine manor.

(c) China—The Shangs, who came in the last phase, were soldiers from the West, converted to being priest-kings. The *Chu Ching* mentions the Temple of Heaven, the Son of Heaven, and fertility rites. The Priest-King had to perform corn-king rituals (*Li Chi*).

(d) Peru—Priest rulers, theocratic socialism.

(e) Mayas—Priest rulers.

(f) Indus Valley—Rule by Brahmans, on the basis of charisma, or *Brahma-Shakti, Jati* or functional arrangements of work. Division into priest-engineer rulers, merchants and labourers, with granaries and buffer stock controlled by the priests.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

All these societies were relatively poor in weapons and soldiery. The range of Shang weapons was small—the compound bow, and the halberd called *ko*. The Peruvian and Mayan civilization were notoriously defenceless and fell easily to the Incas and the Itzas respectively. Sumeria and Egypt, in spite of considerable contacts with and stiffening by fighting nomads, fell easily to other warrior hordes. Sumeria fell to the Babylonians; Egypt to the Hyksos, and later the Assyrians, Persians and Greeks. Similarly, the Indusian Brahmans, with their panoplied warriors and sorceresses (*yatumatinam*), were no match for the Bronze Age Aryans, who shattered them "like an earthern pot".

Clearly, the rule of the priest-technologists was based, not so much on force, as on charisma and credulity exploitation, and on the awesome grandeur of religious rites. When the spell of this charisma was broken the society fell to bits, indeed like pottery sherds.

4. *Ideology*

Basic Attitudes—

To the World Around—Obsession with certain abstract ideas. The seen world not the real one, but reflection of something else, which only priests can interpret. Hence, myth-making.

To Difficulties—can be got over and out of by prayers, magic, charms, with the priests ("who know") as intermediaries.

(a) Sumeria—Ideas of Creation, the worldly cosmos as a reflection of the Heavenly Cosmos of capricious, warring deities, with Enlil at Nippur as the mediating god. River and chthonic deities (water underground/snakes underground/chthonic type animals). *Enuma Elish* story, taming of the primeval, chaotic waters or Tamat. Enki, chthonic water god.

(b) Egypt—Pharaoh embodiment of *maat*—truth, justice, order. Chaos and water myths surrounding the goddess Nun. Osiris, the chthonic water god. The cat god.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(c) China—The *Yin-Yang* (Male-Female)) and *Tao* priestly abstractions. Flood control myths relating to the beginning of creation, originating in Shansi, Honan and Shantnng.

(d) Peru—Obsession with the Sun. Flood myths, weeping cat deities.

(e) Maya—Obsession with Time, Cycles of Time, Creation and Destruction several times. Peruvian flood myths. The rain gods or Chaos.

(f) Indusian—The Sankhya *Prakriti-Purusha* Theory like Yin-Yang. The churning of the waters, out of which arose, among others, the river-goddess, Lakshmi. Connection of goddesses like Saraswati and Durga with water. Concepts of *yoga, tapas, mantras, tantras.*

5. *Family and Society*

6. *"Culture"—Eating and Drinking, Conviviality, Artistic Life*

Basic Attitudes—

To fellow beings—Priests most holy, a class apart and far above others.

Man and Woman—Priests must have favoured segregation, celibacy etc. But as these societies arose out of matrifocal agricultural ones, the importance of women, of fertility religions and of priestesses continued.

Eating and Drinking—The Theocrats did not mind good eating, punctuated by fasts and austerities. But drinking was generally discouraged, as it inebriated.

Conviviality—The Priests mixed, but still held an Olympian attitude.

Artistic Life—Generally suffused with religiosity, except objects of daily use.

The Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life was the same everywhere—the production of an agricultural surplus by taming rivers under the guidance of priest-engineer rulers. There was trading with the surplus, but trade was apparently not the major part of economic activities.

Prevailing Mentality or Ethos (Consciousness VI)—Exclusive monopoly of knowledge by the priestly group;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

knowledge born out of rule of thumb methods, still enmeshed in mythopoeia, a mixture of "cow-dung and pearls" (Al-Beruni's description of "Hindu science") ; credulity exploitation.

All the Theo-Technocracies ("River Valley Civilizations") had similar Dominant Socio-Economic Modes of Life, Prevailing Ethos, Basic Attitudes and Social Values and Institutions. The Indusian was no exception.

Legacies of the Indusian Stage

The Indusian legacies which have survived till much later times, and even today, are of immense importance. They can be enumerated thus—

(a) Society :—The caste or *jati* system, with marriage and lineage through endogamous and exogamous kinship relations, hereditary reckoning of professions, hierarchic grading, the idea of pollution, where some groups are ritually pure, others less so, and some totally impure, causing pollution (Untouchables) ; the priests or Brahmans theorised on Food-Gathering stage notions.

—Some of our *baniyas,* may be the descendants of *Vaniks* (from *Panis*) of Indusian days. In the former Indusian areas and Indusian colonial areas are the Multanis, Sindhis, Marwaris, Gujaratis.

—The Peasant-urban system.

(b) Ideas and Ideology :—

—*Tapas* or austerities idea to gain supernatural powers and then enjoy without restrictions.

—*Yoga* concept.

—*Brahma Teja* concept.

—Concepts of *Shakti, Tantra, mantra*/Primitive *Sankhya.*

—*Ritual bathing.*

—Many mother goddesses—Durga, Lakshmi, Saraswati.

—Trimurti.

(c) "Culture" :—

—Brahman esotericism and monopoly of culture.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

—Brahman mnemonic devices and rote learning.
—*Rangoli, alpana* etc. practices.
—Pottery water jars.
—Use of *kohl* for the eyes.
—Use of unpinned garments.

Cotton, city planning and domestic architecture, weights and measures, calculation by binary and decimal methods, use of stucco for buildings were technological legacies which have, however, now largely passed to history.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 14

FORMATION OF THE ARYO-INDIAN RULING COMPLEX IN THE INTERREGNUM OR INTER-STAGE PERIOD (1800 B.C.—1000 B.C.)

Thrust of the Arguments

(i) ON DEFEAT, the Indusian Brahman rulers were forced to make up with the Aryan conquerors. They coalesced with the Aryan priestly classes.

(ii) Priests of all groups, Indusian, Aryan, Adivasis, coalesced to form a single class.

(iii) For some time priests and warriors may also have inter-married. But later caste exclusiveness, born out of *Brahma-Teja* ideas, led to a cessation of this.

(iv) The priests ultimately overpowered the rulers, Kshatriyas, psychologically.

(v) The rulers, Khastriyas, coalesced with the Adivasi Munda (Naga) chiefs, both out of necessity as well as choice.

(vi) By *mimesis*, such coalescence of other groups also took place.

(vii) Thus, racially the Aryans became Indianised. Thus must have led to cultural amalgamation also.

(viii) The period is of great importance as the Aryo-Indian ruling complex was formed in the crucible during these 800 years, a class which holds sway even today.

FUSION OF INDUSIAN BRAHMANS (DRAVIDIANS) AND ARYANS

We have seen in the last chapter that the Indusian Brahman rulers, the Vritrasuras, Sambura, Namuchi etc. resisted the Bronze-using Aryans as much as they could. Three of the original Brahman *gotras*, Pulastya, Pulaha and Kratu, seem to have been totally wiped out. Others fell to grim poverty. Laments Vasudeva (Aryanised name) (R V. 4.19.13) "In the utmost need cooked I the entrails of a dog; among the gods I found no protector; I beheld my wife in degradation; then the falcon (Indra)

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

gave me the right to the sweet mead." Another Brahman fell into a well at night, from whence he saw the Great Bear and Cassiopeia. He moaned: "My emaciated ribs clash like co-wives; as hungry rats gnaw their own tails, so gnaw we many cares". Sunahsepa (Dog-Tail, obviously a totem name), sold by his hungry father Ajigarta for a human sacrifice, was rescued by the Aryan priest Vishwamitra, and given the Aryan name Devarata. Thus, a process of Aryanisation was going on. Some Brahmans were politicians. They praised both the Aryan and the still existing Indian (Indusian) rulers and seers. For instance, Vasa Asvya, Ghritsamada etc. The Vashishtha who guided Sudas in the Battle of the Ten Kings and ousted Vishwamitra must have been a shrewd, resilient Indusian Brahman politician. But his sons were slain by the sons of Sudas (*Taittiriya Samhita* 7.4.7), showing the uncertainties of politics. Some Brahmans continued to be matrilineal. For instance, Dronacharya, as late as *Mahabharata* times, *circa* 1000 B.C. He was born of a jar, i.e. a womb, the patrilineality not being known. This may be the reason why he was poor and shunned by the Aryans till Drupad of the Panchalas befriended him.

The circumstantial evidence that Indusian Brahman destinies became closely intertwined with those of the Aryan rulers is thus very strong. In this process there was rivalry also, as the famous story of struggles between the hot-headed Aryan priest Vishwamitra, and the Indusian priest Vashishtha, from whom the former learnt *tapas* (asceticism), indicates.

Fusion with Adivasi Priests also

The Aryan and Aryo-Indusian priests must have seen the advantage of aligning themselves with the black medicine-men and wizards of the Adivasis also. In the earliest days the Aryans despised a dark coloured Brahman. (Thus, Patanjali on a stanza of the grammarian, Panini, 2.2.6). Later, in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (6.4.16) the way of begetting "a swarthy son with red eyes" is described (eating the "native" rice boiled with water and seasoned with clarified butter). Brahmans like Baka Dalbhya and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Glava Maitreya went to the Food-Gatherers and rallied them. Baka Dalbhya's spying on the dog totem tribe to understand their religious rites is well known (*Chandogya Upanishad,* 12th section of Chapter 1). Even much later, many Upanishadic books had totem names, like *Shvetasvatara* (White Mule), *Mandukya* (Frog), *Kaushitaki* (Owl), *Taittiriya* (Partridge).

All this implies miscegenation or hybridization, which must have taken place on a fairly large scale. The Brahmans today, in all parts of the country, except Kashmir, can look like anything, from South Europeans to Black Australoids. This cannot be due to the hot sun, and must be due to hybridization, for under Darlington's Thesis (Chapter II), there have been no gene mutations within the time-period in question to lead to such variation in pigmentation. Hybridization must have occurred by polygamous marriages and concubinage. Even in much later days there was no bar to men of "higher castes" marrying women of "lower castes", and this was known as *anuloma marriage* ("along the hair", of an animal, i.e. something quite "natural" to patriarchalists), as opposed to *pratiloma* ("against the hair").

A similar process took place over two thousand years later when the fair-skinned West Asian Syeds, by a similar process, became Indianised.

Brahmans and Kshatriyas

The Indusian Brahmans apparently aligned themselves with the Aryan rulers, the Kshatriyas, by marriage too. The warrior aristocrats also saw the great advantage of winning over Brahman priests to keep down people by ideology and charisma, reserving their energies for the chase (*mrigaya*), and the harem (*antahpura*). The Puru-Bharata family was the matrix, not only of great kings, but of Brahmans as well,[1] like Uruksaya, Kapi, Gargya, Priyamedha, Maudgalya etc. The ancient Indusian family of Angiras intermarried with the Aryans.[2] But, later on we hear no more of such inter-marriages. Obviously ideas of "pollution", of *Brahma-Teja* etc, came again into sway as the Brahmans consolidated their position.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Priests Overpower the Warriors Psychologically

The fierce and ruthless Aryans carried everything before them in war. But it is easy to imagine that they fell to the charms of dusky Indian belles, especially in the evenings, after copious draughts of wine. Like the Afghans, Turks and Mughals later they must have been accompanied by few of their own women. The difficulties of travel over mountain passes, bleak and dangerous, into a hostile country were even more in the period of Aryan incursions than in those of the Turko-Mughal one. The proud Aryan victors became Indianised by their Indian wives and concubines. It was a polygamous society, concubinage was allowed, and there was nothing to check the war-mad, turbulent and ebullient Aryan-speaking conquerors. The Yadavas particularly seemed to have fostered inter-marriages and hybridization, and they may have formed the spear-head in the Bronze Age expansion down the Banas, to Saurashtra, and across Central India, with thrusts to Maharashtra, Bihar and West Bengal, along with the Black-and-Red Ware. They became apparently mixed up with matrilineal elements, for Kamsa's fear of his sister Devaki's children and his slaughtering of them is obviously a conflict between *maru-makka-thayam* type ideas and those of patriarchal warrior nomads.

As generations rolled by the thoroughly Indianised Aryans began to hearken to Brahman whisperings that they alone could act as intermediaries between ordinary mortals and the gods, because of their *tapas or Brahma-Shakti.* In return, the Aryan war-lord (very like the Germanic *Kriegsherr*), the *rajan,* would become semi-divine, consecrated by divine water after lengthy and complicated ceremonies. So the Brahman reasserted himself, assisted by the beliefs of the majority of the people, who were non-Aryan by tradition, while the Aryans themselves were also becoming thoroughly "Indusianised", or "Indianised", another term for the same process. The Brahmans then began to dispute Kshatriya supremacy, and this rivalry found expression in the later, Pauranic legends that the Brahmans destroyed the Kshatriya twenty one times. This seems as much a fabrication as the reverse

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

legend, of the Jains, that Subhuma, a Kshatriya King, exterminated the Brahmans twenty one times.[3]

The legends do indicate, however, that there was Kshatriya-Brahman rivalry. But the ordinary people had to be kept down, and the priests and warriors came to a compromise, under which spiritual power rested solely with the Brahmans and temporal power with the Kshatriyas. There was never, as Louis Dumont has pointed out,[4] a spiritual temporal power, like the Papacy in the Western "Middle Ages". Thus the Emperor versus Pope type of quarrels did not have occasion to take birth in India. In Islam the Khalif was both the ultimate spiritual as well as temporal head, and in the Byzantine Empire also final authority rested with the ruler. This shows that the priest was stronger in India than elsewhere.

Aryan Warriors And "Native" Chiefs (Naga-Mundas)

The ruling groups saw the advantages of close alliances, matrimonial and otherwise, with the chieftains of local peoples, who seem to be covered by the generic name "Nagas" in Aryan literature. T. V. Mahalingam's paper on the Nagas give their close connections with the Aryan speakers.[5] In the *Harivamsa Purana* the Nagas are described as degraded warriors and named as *Kola-sarpa* or *Koli-sarpa,* obviously the same as Kols (Mundas). The name Kolis, Kol-gaon etc. pertain to these Mundas or Nagas. In a land full of serpents it is understandable that the Nagas had the serpent ("naga") as a totem animal, and were named after it. When they became peasants the snake served as a fertility symbol, as elsewhere in the world, as we have seen in chapters 7 and 13. The serpent is like a streak of water, which fertilises Mother Earth; hence, on pre-logical notions, the serpent and water are the same, similar-looking fertilising agents.

The *Mahabharata* gives, at the very beginning, the names of Naga kings, among whom appears Dhritarashtra, the blind king of the Kurus. "Hastinapura" itself is said to be a "City of the Nagas", the word *hastin* (trunk) being applied to the Nagas. The Nagas, Munda Australoids,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

had according to Irawati Karve,[6] fourteen ruling houses, the chief of which was Takshaka in the west (from which came Takshashila or Taxila) and Karkotaka in the East. Jwala, the daughter of a Takshaka king, married a Kuru king of Hastinapur. Ulupi, of Patala, probably in Sindh, whom Arjuna loved (one of many !) was a Naga princess. After the *Mahabharata* war the Nagas of Gandhara arose, attacked Hastinapur and killed Parikshita, whose ancestor, the Pandavas, had burnt down their Khandava forest. Janamejaya defeated them and took their capital, Takshashila, but peace was restored only on the intervention of the sage, Astika, son of a Brahman seer and a Naga princess. The North Panchalas had their capital in a then basically Naga country, as the name of their capital, Ahichchatra ("Serpent Umbrella") denotes. Krishna Vasudeva ("Dark Vasudeva") had Naga affinities, and his brother Balarama is often described as a Naga. Many kings and sages, like Nahusa, had Naga affiliations. The powerful Haihayas on the Narmada, apparently of Iranian extraction (according to H. D. Sankalia), had to contend with the Karkotaka Nagas, whose capital, Mahishmati, they ultimately conquerred. Buddha had Naga disciples, like Muchilinda. Naga-Munda, the daughter of Mahanama the Shakya by a Munda concubine, was given in marriage to King Pasenadi of Kosala, according to Buddhist legend, under a false pretence, for which his son of the union, Vidhudhaba, totally wiped out the Shakya clan.

Magadha was rich in Naga associations and the famous Shishunaga dynasty was probably of Munda origin. Even as late as the 4th Century A. D. Chandragupta II could get status and prestige by marrying a Naga princess, Kubera Naga. Bengal, basically an aborigine land, and certainly in those days, universally worshipped the Naga goddess, Manasa. The Deccan, South India and Ceylon are replete with Naga associations, and the early literature of Tamilaham is full of them, as T. V. Mahalingam has shown in the paper cited. The Satavahana rulers of the Deccan were supposed to be of Brahman-Naga descent, and so on. All this shows that the Aryans, white foreigners from Iran and Central Asia, could not ignore

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the native Indians (the Mundas/Kols or Nagas) and could rule only by coming thoroughly mixed up with them.

Indianisation Of The Aryan : Importance Of The Period

What happened to the Aryan noblemen (*Kshatriyas*), including priests, must have befallen the Aryan laymen, the *vish* also. Namely, they became hybridized, imitating their social superiors (in Toynbee's phrase, by *mimesis*). We have seen in chapter 13 that the Aryans despised the Indusian traders or *panis*, accusing them of fraud, guile and all kinds of sharp practices. The *panis* disappear from subsequent literature, and the circumstantial evidence is strong that they became *vaniks* (traders, etymologically similar to *panis*) and merged with the Aryan *vish*. Their traditions, good and bad, no doubt survive in the area of their activities, among their descendants, the Sindhi, Marwari and Gujarati merchants.

Thus, Aryan tribal society was being transformed into a *jati* society. N. G. Wagle has shown this process still going on during Buddha's days.[7] And with such a transformation must have gone the adoption of certain essential factors of the old Indusian social system, summarised by Romila Thapar (cf. Chapter 13), as follows :—

(i) marriage and lineage through exogamous and endogamous kinship relations ;

(ii) integration of the division of labour into a hierarchical system, with service relationships ;

(iii) the idea of pollution, where some groups are ritually pure, others less so, and some totally impure or polluting (Untouchables).

Thus, racially the Aryans became Indianised. As S. C. Malik has stated in his seminal work *Indian Civilization, the Formative Period* (Simla, 1968) :[8] ".....It was, contrary to general opinion, not the Aryanisation of India, but rather the Indianisation of the Aryan nomadic pastoral hordes." And, a racial admixture without a socio-cultural one is perhaps impossible. Certainly the Folk elements, habits of eating, drinking, wearing clothes, etiquette, manners etc. must have become mixed up among the elite

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

classes, whose thought and doings only are recorded in literature.

This period is of immense importance as it was during these 700-800 years that the Aryo-Indian ruling complex was fashioned in the crucible ; a ruling class which created, on its own, two societies of remarkable originality —the Aryo-Indian/Hindu Theo-Aristocratic and the Buddhist Theo-Mercantile, Stages 7A and 8 of Indian civilization.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 15

STAGE 7A—THE ARYO-INDIAN THEO-ARISTOCRATIC
(1000 B.C. to 1200 A. D.).

INTRODUCTORY

FIRST IS given a broad perspective survey of the life-course of the Aryo-Indian/Hindu Theo-Aristocratic Society during its period of dominance in the sub-continent. The thrust of the presentation and of the arguments that follow in subsequent sections is to show that:—

(i) the values and institutions of this society are interlinked, and dependent on the dominant economic mode of life;

(ii) the origin and development of values and institutions are irrational but are susceptible of "configurational" analysis in terms of the interplay of the five factors (geography/natural resources/geopolitics or external relations/internal class relations/strength of past traditions) mentioned earlier at many places; and,

(iii) the values and institutions are similar to those of Theo-Aristocratic societies elsewhere (a sample method is used).

Thereafter, the significant legacies are taken and their relevance to present day life analysed in terms of Configurational Dynamics.

ORIGIN AND LIFE COURSE

General: The Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic Civilization came about by the interaction of Bronze-using and Iron-using Aryans, racially, socio-economically and culturally, with Indusians and Adivasis. There were four phases of development:—

(i) 1000 B.C.—700 B.C. Formation of a new life-style and expansion to the Gangetic valley.

(ii) 700 B.C.—300 B.C. Modification of the life-style by interaction with the Adivasis of the Gangetic plains.

(iii) 300 B.C.—700 A.D. Full flowering/Empire/New formulations.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(iv) 700—1200 A.D. The final formulations (begun in Phase 3) of "Classic" Hindu civilization, when we have, *inter-alia* logomachy and a "Second Religiousness". During this period the South was in the "Ascendant", to use a phrase of Romila Thapar's.

There is a good deal of indebtedness to the writings of Professor D. D. Kosambi in the treatment of the first two phases.

Phase 1 (*Birth*) (1000-700 B. C.). The Aryo-Indians expanded to the Gangetic Valley upto the present day Bihar, clearing the jungle with iron implements. The thinner jungles of the north-west had yielded to stone and bronze, but they were not adequate for the heavy jungles of the Gangetic Valley, which must have presented the same appearance then as does Bastar today (1973), heavily forested, and full of Australoid Adivasis. Even in the 7th century A. D. Hiuen Tsang (Hsuan Tsang) had to travel through seventy miles of jungle to reach Varanasi from the present-day Allahabad side. Only the iron axes and hoes/ploughs of the Aryans could tame this jungle, and this is clear from both archaeology and later Vedic literature. Romila Thapar has drawn attention to the fact that the word frequently used for "hoe" is Vedic literature, *stambaghana,* literally means "that which destroys clumps".[1] A key passage in the *Shatapatha Brahmana* describes how a king, Mathava, the Videgha, who formerly lived on the banks of the Sarasvati River in the Punjab (now lost, the Ghaggar belt) carried the fire eastwards to Videha (North Bihar) as far as the Sadanira (Son) River (1.4/1.14-17). One whole *Brahmana* (VII.2.2) of this book is devoted to the rites of ploughing. The method was to clear the land with iron implements, burn, and grow rice—the only cereal found in the Hastinapur and Noh excavations, pertaining to this period.[2] The Pandavas burnt the Khandava forest in a similar manner, driving out the Adivasis (Nagas) and built Indraprastha on their land. The expansion was basically tribal, not individual, land being jointly held.[3]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

As the land was densely forested the Aryo-Indians followed the line of the Himalayan foot-hills, keeping the visible mountains to their left, and debouched down rivers whenever they found them. The railways in Uttar Pradesh broadly followed the same alignment. Along with river settlements and expansion, trade and markets grew up towards the end of the period. Thus Indraprastha and Madhupura on the Jumna, Haradvara and Hastinapura on the Ganges, Nandigram and Ayodhya on the Sarayu, Kaushambi at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna etc. Further east there were sites at Mithila, Gautam-ashrama, Champa, and at the frontier with tribal Vanga peoples, Rishyashringa Ashrama.

As they spread they gave their tribal names to the territories they occupied, like their descendants, the Rohilla Afghans (Rohilkhand), 2700 years later. The famous "Hymn to the Rivers" (*Nadistuti*) (R. V. X. 75) mentions the earlier western tribes, and later books like the *Shatapatha Brahmana* and *Atharva Veda* other tribes. The Sarasvati is the river par excellence now. The present-day Ghaggar basin in the Doab probably represents it (the Saraswat Brahmans, highly cultured and advanced, had their provenance here). Its original was probably the present-day Harahuvati of Iran and Afghanistan. Similarly, the name "Gomati", between Kubha and Krumu near Kabul, was transferred by the colonisers to the Gangetic Valley (flowing by the present-day Lucknow). This process is well-known all over the world, and an instance is the name "Irrawaddy" in Burma from "Iravati" (Ravi) in far-away Punjab.

South of the Punjab, in the region of Rajasthan and Malwa were the Matsyas and the Chedis, and further east, Vidarbha. East India beyond the Sadanira (Son) was "Outside the Pale", homeland of tribes like the Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Andhras, Pulindas, Sabaras etc., all Adivasis. These, as well as the Adivasis within Aryo-Indian territory, the Nishadas, Rakṣhasas ("cannibals") etc. were insultingly referred to as *Krishnatvach* ("blackies") and *mridhravach* ("foul-speaking"). All enemies, Indusians, Aryans mixed Aryo-Indusians (Asuras, Daityas,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Danavas etc.) were lumped now and then with them.[4]

The Aryo-Indians had no doubt as to how they got hold of their new possessions—it was by military might. The military technology and methods of conquest were still showers of arrows from fast-moving chariots, drawn by horses, and *blitz-krieg* tactics. The Aryo-Indians, unlike their descendants, were passionately fond of horses, and excellent archers. They themselves gave credit for their victories to the bow, as the following two verses illustrate:—

By the bow we will win the cattle,
by the bow the battle,
By the bow shall we win the mighty struggles
The bow destroys the enemy, by the
bow shall we conquer the regions
As if to whisper the strings near the ear,
holding in embrace its dear friend (the bow);
Stretched on the bow it limps like a girl,
This string, that helps on to victory.
(RV. VI.75.2-3).

The Aryo-Indians moved in tribes, led by their chiefs, the *rajans,* whose power was curbed by popular assemblies —the *sabhas* and the *samitis,* the latter like the Pathan *jirgahs,* and the former, ministerial councils. The Adivasis, armed only with wooden, stone or copper implements, had no chance against the Aryo-Indian archers and charioteers. The latter were also united, while the Adivasis were divided, and so victims of the Aryo-Indian policy of *divide et impera.* For instance, Ramachandra—and Sugriva against Bali, or Ramachandra and Vibheeshana against Ravana. Among the Aryans there were no Quislings like Sugriva or Vibheeshana. Later, the descendants of the Aryo-Indians played the same role vis-a-vis the invading Muslim Turks, Afghans and Mughals as the Adivasis had with relation to their ancestors and so, were practically ever defeated. Aryo-Indian Unity was a big factor in their victories. So they enslaved the Adivasis, who became *Shudra* helots, the common property of the Aryo-Indian tribe, as Professor R. S. Sharma has brought out.[5] The unity of the Aryo-Indians is well brought out

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

in the beautiful verse with which the Rig-Veda ends:—

Samgacchadhvam Samvadadhvam sam vo manamsi janatam,
Samano mantrah samitih samano samanam manah saha chittamesham,
Samano va akutih samana hridayani vah,
Samanamastu vo mano yatha vah sushhasati.
(RV.10.191. 2-4).

Meet together, talk together
May your minds comprehend alike
Common be your action and achievement.
Common be your thoughts and intentions;
Common be the wishes of your hearts
So there may be thorough union among you.

The jungles of India were then teeming with wild animals, snakes and crocodiles, and infested with flies and mosquitoes. The Aryo-Indian conquests were, therefore, not only great feats of bravery and military skill, but also of fortitude, perseverance and persistence, some of which come out, despite later priestly coatings, in the stirring tales of the *Mahabharata, Ramayana* and the *Puranas.*

Phase 2 (*Growth*) (700-300 B.C.). Following the first wave of Iron-using Aryans came others—unruly white-skinned warriors—the Abhiras, Balhikas (from the later Bactrian region) and the Mujavants. They naturally did not care for Brahman rituals, being outsiders, and so many of the priests moved east, like Christians fleeing from the heathen Danes in England. The North-west gradually became "impure" to the Brahmans for ritual reasons, and was excluded by Baudhayana, who belongs to this period, from his description of "Aryavarta", the land of the Aryans,[6] although Takshashila (Taxila near modern Rawalpindi) continued to be the cultural capital. Kashmir was *terra incognita* to the later Vedas; Bengal was outside the pale, and the proud Aryo-Indians mention the Vangas and Vagadhas (cognate with Magadhas) contemptuously, as "birds"[7], either because their language was unintelligible, or because they belonged to the bird (*Vihanga*) totem; the South was as yet beyond the ken of the Aryo-Indians.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

With the North-West having been declared "impure", the literature confines itself to what may be termed the "East Aryans", viz. of the Gangetic Plains.

The East Aryans were alike followers of Indra, as were the West Aryans. That is to say they were a berserk and war-mad people. We have no records of the tales of those stirring times, full as they must have been with high adventure, courage and dramatic events, except incidentally from Buddhist scriptures and *jataka* (lives of former Buddhas) tales. North India was covered with 16 *janapadas* ("people's realms"), territories held mostly by Aryo-Indian tribal groups. As the East Aryans expanded, they spread out thin, tribal society weakened and gave place to *jati* societies, with Adivasis predominating. The democratic assemblies, *sabhas* and *samitis,* became weaker, except where the Aryans had settled in close-knit groups, and the king's power, with whispering Brahman ministers by his side, became more and more absolute. With the weakening of tribal bonds mercenary standing armies had to be created. The rise of standing armies is denoted by such names as Bimbisara Seniya ("with the Army") of Magadha, Vidudhabha (or Virudhaka) Senapati ("Lord of Hosts") of Kosala etc. In some areas compact new sub-waves of Aryans like the Shakyas (the tribe to which Buddha belonged), Mallas, Licchavis etc. settled *en masse* and they retained much of the tribal structure, as did the Aryans of the north-west. All of them were doughty fighters, but the Gangetic Valley absolute kingdoms were larger, and hence had more resources and soldiers. The discovery of the bellows led to more iron production, and more iron weapons, which enabled the Kshatriyas to lead an unrestricted life of war and pleasure, like the *razm* and *bazm* of Turks in India, from a similar provenance and with a similar warrior-nomad background, 2000 years later. Magadha's complete control over the richest deposit of iron ore in the country (the present day Jamshedpur belt) and of trade routes through the crucial river-port of Pataliputra gave it resources which led to its ultimate paramountcy after a fierce period of "contending states" for over a hundred

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

years.[8] Along with fierce fighting went crafty intrigues of ministers like Digha-Karayana of Kosala, and Vassakara and Vishnugupta Kautilya or Chanakya of Magadha. Alexander's raid in the 4th century B.C., weakened the fighting tribes of the North West and made it easier for the Mauryas to move in.

After over 500 years of ceaseless warfare the Kshatriyas had more or less wiped each other out. As the standing in the hierarchy, by strict Brahmanical standards, was genealogical, it was not easy for successful strong-armed Adivasi rulers to become Kshatriyas. The Shishunagas of Magadha (Bimbisara, Ajatashatru etc.) were evidently partly Naga or Munda. And the Brahmans speak of them contemptuously as *Kshatra-bandhus* ("friends of Kshatriyas") and not Kshatriyas themselves. The succeeding Nandas were of low caste, and the Mauryas who came after them belonged, by circumstantial evidence, to an Adivasi Peacock totem tribe ("Moriyas"). In Sanskrit literature the great Emperor Chandragupta Maurya is scornfully referred to as *Vrishala* or "low caste man". Pasenadi of Kosala claimed descent from the Ikshvakus. But this claim was not admitted in his time, and the Aryan Shakyas refused to give him a pure Aryan girl. His chief queen, Mallika, was a gardener's daughter.

Thus, the heroic Aryan fighting classes bled themselves to death in the Gangetic Valley. This could not but have slowly benefitted the non-fighting, priestly class of practising Brahmans.

The Udayana-Vasavadatta cycle of love stories, belonging to this period, centring round the king of Kaushambi (also known as Vatsa), contemporaneous with his enemy Chanda Pajjota (Pradyota the Fierce) of Avanti, survives to cast a soft romantic glow over all the intrigues, bloodshed and massacres of this period.

Phase 3 (*Maturity, New Formulations*) (300 B.C. to 700 *A. D.*). The East Aryans created a centralised state, that of the Mauryas (circa 322 to 183 B.C.) but it broke down. The country was too vast, the cost immense, the distances, given the means of communication available, too formid-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

able. The same fate befell other centralised Empires—with dwindling areas of command—those of the Guptas and of Harsha, progressively less spectacular and effective.

From the surviving fragments of the lost *Indika* of Megasthenes, Seleucid envoy at the court of Chandragupta Maurya at Pataliputra, and the *Artha Shastra* of Chandragupta's Prime Minister, Kautilya, one gets a fairly good idea of the Maurya polity. It was a highly organised, effective and efficient Police State, based on force and on wealth from the mines to make possible the accummulation of such force.[9] The Mauryas opened up Virgin Lands, and deported Adivasis and tribals, *apavudhe,* who were forced to work in crown villages (*sita*) and state farms.[10] The economy was completely controlled and trade and industries closely regulated. There was a large public sector in mines and industries. Aryan speakers, Quasi-Aryans etc. received cash payments for services rendered.[11] Taxes were heavy, to support a huge centralised army and bureaucracy. The whole edifice thus rested on the work of *shudra* helots in state farms and in the public sector, helots who were denied everything but the minimum amount possible of food, shelter and clothing.

There were spies and agent-provocateurs everywhere[12]. It was a vigilance state, a police state. Like serfs under the Russian Tsars the peasants had to have passports,[13] and there were frontier guards at every *janapada.*

It was a society full of internal tensions and misery. Ashoka tried to ameliorate conditions by applying Buddhist principles, but his efforts failed. The tensions arose because of political and economic reasons—intrigues, massacres, uprooting of tribes and villages, continuous fighting and intense urge for power and empire—and ideological, intellectual and emotional palliatives without solutions on the material plane were just not adequate.

More specifically, the Empire was top-heavy, without a system of delegation; no standing civil service; an "intense militarism" in the country, in the words of A. L. Basham, which prevented the continuance of a single state for any length of time; more or less a continuously expanding bureaucracy, not matched by extra revenues, which

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

forced the Mauryas to debase the currency; non-involvement of even the Aryan upper classes in government, as more or less equals, as in the days of the *sabha* and the *samiti*; and difficulties of communication.

Buddhist pacifism was not the cause of the downfall. Ashoka was a pragmatist, not a complete pacifist. As A. L. Basham has pointed out[14]: "he made no mention of reducing the army, and if, under the influence of Buddhism, he had done so, he would surely have taken pride in the fact." Nor were Brahmans as a class responsible for the fall of the pro-Buddhist Mauryas. Under the succeeding Brahman Shunga rule there were more Buddhist monuments built and repaired than of Brahman and Jaina ones put together.[15]

When one reflects on the circumstances obtaining it is not surprising that the empire fell; what is surprising is how did it manage to survive 140 years? Other similar empires, made up of heterogeneous peoples, of Charlemagne, Charles V, Napoleon, Hitler ciuld not last anywhere near a century and a half. The Guptas (320-540 A. D.), and Harsha (605-647 A. D.) tried to repeat the Maurya achievement, but they were less successful. As Romila Thapar says [16]: "The desire for empire did not disappear but there was no longer the same compulsion and intensity with which the first of the empires had been built."

A fourth wave of white men (first, the Indusian priest-engineers; second, Bronze-using Aryans; third, iron-using Aryans), Greeks, Shakas, Kushanas etc. streamed in from the North West (3rd-1st century A. D.). The Shakas were in Malwa and Gujarat for over 250 years. The Abhiras spread over the Yadava country (Mathura to Saurashtra). The Kushanas or Tokharians (later "Dogras"), contributed the name *Thakur*,[17] later applied to Rajputs—an amalgam of Tokharians, Shakas, Adivasis, Aryans and white Huns. (This will be dealt with further in Chapter 16).

The Kushanas detached the North West, and bound it to Central Asia, until they were overwhelmed by the Iranian Sassanians. This is part of the Indian Theo-Mercantile Civilization and will be dealt with in Chapter 22.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The Gupta Empire (320-540 A. D.) was more limited than those of the Mauryas. A fifth wave of basically white men, White Huns (*"Shveta Hunas"*) and Gurjaras, came from Central Asia in the 4th-5th centuries, and the Guptas learnt from them, effectively, horse archery and the use of the cataphract. The double pincers of the Guptas and the White Huns finally broke up the old Aryan republican tribes of the North West like the Yaudheyas, Arjunayanas, Malavas, Madras etc.[18]

The economy was freed, and the private sector reigned supreme. Tax burdens were lightened. A new land equation grew up—*mahipati* (the ruler), *kshetraswami* (the landlord), *Karshaka* (the farmer).[19] There was decentralisation in administration and growth of feudal (*samanta*) rule. The Kshatriyas had wiped each other out, and the *vish* were making money. So land grants for colonisation were given by the Guptas, and following them, other rulers, to Brahmans—*agrahara* (Brahman villages without taxation) and *Brahmadeya* (villages controlled by Brahmans)—along with administrative rights. They propagated advanced agricultural knowledge (using religious almanacs like the *panjikas*),[20] a sense of loyalty to rulers and Brahmanic culture. Thus, the Brahmans began to be entrenched in the countryside. Rulers, often of Adivasi or foreign origin, had genealogies fabricated by Brahmans grateful for favours, and thus they acquired sacred legitimacy, aura and halo in the eyes of the credulous multitudes.

After the fall of the Mauryas the Shudras had resisted the ruling elite—now mainly Brahmans.[21] There were savage reprisals, perhaps more in theory (especially Manu) than in practice, as seen from inscriptions and Fa Hsien's observations.[22] Iron was used extensively, and Shudras became artisans also. The *vish* were now practically occupied wholly in business (becoming the *vaishyas*), and the Shudras took their place as tillers and artisans. The Brahman landowners had to hire Shudras as the tillers of their soil. As the holdings were not very large, it paid them to have the Shudras as peasant ploughmen rather than as slaves, as was hitherto the practice. And gradually,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

because of their numbers and economic indispensability they were given concessions, ritual, cultural, economic and administrative. Thus, out of more or less pure Adivasis was born the fourth *varna,* the Shudras, the bulk of the Hindu population of India today.[23]

New ethnic groupings, of mixed Indian and foreign origin were now formed—Jats, Rajputs, Khatris, Kayasthas etc. These also got land grants like the Brahmans, for services rendered. The Jats were mainly descendants of the republican Aryans, and of Hunas, Gurjaras, Shakas, and Adivasis (initially, *Jata*—bound together i.e. compact tribes). The Rajputs were akin, and the place of the vacant Kshatriyas was taken by these new, strong-armed, partly ci-devant barbarians, who became willing and apt pupils of the Brahmans, who fabricated genealogies for them and gave them sacred legitimacy to rule in the eyes of the credulous masses. The Aryan *vish* or common people, *kshetraswamis,* became *Khatris* (Kshetra-swamis-Kshetris-Kshatris-Khatris). The Kayasthas were an administrative caste of mixed origins, formed during this period. The social class picture now begins to resemble that of today. The matter of formation of these new groups will be dealt with more in detail in Chapter 16.

The Deccan, freed from Maurya control, breathed independently under the Satavahanas, (mixed Naga-Brahmans), Orissa under Kharavela. New Ground was won in Kashmir, Bengal and the South. This was effected mainly by Brahmans and Buddhist and Jains. The *Varna* scheme does not, therefore, strictly apply here, as the non-priestly *jatis* all became Shudras, and were graded according to the degree that they polluted the Brahmans. That is to say, according to taboos on taking water, cooked food, uncooked food etc.

The South was the most creative of the new Ground areas. The period 500 B.C.—500 A.D. in Tamilaham is famous as the Shangam ("Assembly") age, after the Shangam literature of Madurai. This was partly stimulated by the Aryan impact—Brahmans, Buddhists and Jains. The rulers of Tamilaham were the Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras. As there was no occasion for the fierce centra-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

lising urge of the North (less of conquering warriors, less iron and so less iron weapons, less population), popular village assemblies like *sabhas, manrus* etc. continued. The Pallavas of Kanchi, 7th century A. D. onwards, were great "Sanskritisers", in the words of M. N. Srinivas, or adapters of North Indian Theo-Aristocratic culture. The Brahmans, of Dravidian as well as infiltrators of Aryan origin, played the same role in the South, technologically and culturally, as in the New Ground areas in the North, indeed, to a greater extent. The new Ground areas will be dealt with a little more fully when "regions" are considered, in Chapter 28.

Phase 4 (*Final formulations*) (700-1200 *A.D.*) : During this period the usufructuary rights of land-owners were converted to proprietary rights, resulting in intimate connections between master and servant,[24] and increasing feudalisation. There was decentralised rule of the *samantas,* feudal lords, many states continuously warring among themselves, overlord-vassal tensions. Disloyal vassals were severely humiliated. The ruler of Vengi had to sweep the stables of his victor, Govinda II. Defeated disloyal feudatories had to surrender their precious gems, treasures, dancing girls and horses and elephants, and even their wives were put to prison.[25] But all this did not end feudal insubordination a bit. Under several main kingdoms the vassals multiplied, each royal family proliferating, issuing coins, issuing land grants without consulting overlords, and continuously fighting with each other.[26] In the words of Kipling's soldier—'E don't obey no orders unless they is 'is own.

The feudal barons, collectively, were very powerful. The facts that they could depose Govinda II of the Rashtrakutas and put his uncle Amoghavarsha III on the throne, and elect one of their numbers, Gopala, to be the first Pala King in Bengal indicate their enormous power.

The Cholas of Thanjavur (850-1267) were probably the most important of the dynasties of this period. They gained naval victories over Sri Vijaya (Sumatra—Malaysia)

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

in the 10th-11th centuries, but these were not followed up.

Of the peripheral kingdoms Kashmir was one. In the 9th century Queen Sugandha tried to control the two groups of mercenaries who dominated Kashmir politics—the Tantrins and Ekangas—but failed, and was deposed. Finally, the landlords or *damaras* became powerful and only a strong sovereign like Queen Didda in the 10th century could keep them in check, and that too with much difficulty. The irrigation and embankment works of Kashmiri engineers, specially Suyya, are justly famous.

Nepal rebelled against Tibetan hegemony in 878, new towns were founded, but the king was in constant trouble with the powerful landowners, the *ranas*. In the north-east Kamarupa was conquerred in the 13th century by a Tai-Shan people, the Ahoms, who were gradually Indianised and who gave this area its name, Assam, from their own.

The "bridge-kingdoms" of Western and Northern Deccan were, as Romila Thapar has pointed out, involved in the politics of both North and South India.[27] The Satavahanas (c. 50 B.C. to A.D. 250) were transmitters of goods and ideas; the Vakatakas (3rd-5th centuries A.D.) allied themselves with the Guptas; the Chalukyas (circa 550-757) maintained independence; now the Rashtrakutas (757-973) tried to dominate both north and south, like Marathas later—and failed.

The symbol of suzerainty was Kanauj, the bone of contention between the Rashtrakutas, the Pratiharas (C. 800-1019), who ruled from the city, and the Palas of Bengal and Bihar (C. 760-1142). These feuds exhausted all of them and made easy the subsequent Turkish conquest. The Pratiharas, probably originally Gurjara palace officials, acted as a bulwark against the Arabs, though no one then in India understood the significance of Theo-Mercantile Islam. When the Pratiharas declined, due to the sloth which generally accompanies royal dynasties as Time passes, the Palas, allied with the Rashtrakutas, had more say in North Indian affairs. All these are glorified by regional historians, but the wars and battles of those

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

long-forgotten kings are only of interest to specialists and regional chauvinists, the nightmare of history students, and in the details of their fighting, of practically no relevance to the understanding of the processes of Indian history. The Palas, however, had overseas connections with South East Asia, and derived income also from such trade. Like possibly north-west India, Bengal was also largely Buddhist under the Palas.

The Turkish menace in the north-west at the close of this period was realised, and the Gahadavalas of Kanauj (C. 1090-1193), the successors of the Pratiharas, levied the *Turushkadanda* ("Turk tax") for increased protective measures. But when a strong state came into existence under the Chahamanas of Ajmer and Delhi around 1164 A.D., they thought they had a strong buffer and the tax was abolished by Jayachandra as a popular measure.[28] The main reason for the defeat of the Indian princes at the hands of the Turko-Afghans was, however, not financial, nor even political or social, but military, as will be brought out in Chapter 17. During this period the heavy Burden of Tradition prevented all development and innovation. The desire to borrow science and technology from others, when it was better, as in the past, ceased, as the scientist, scholar and observer, Al-Beruni,, testifies. This applied to military matters too, and it was basically this which led to disastrous defeats at the hands of the Turko-Afghans.

Mention must be made, at the end of this section, of the only successful (for the time being) "low class" rebellion against feudal barons, that of the Kaivartas of Bengal against the Palas in the 11th century. The Kaivarta chiefs were deprived of land given to them in lieu of service, and subjected to heavy taxation. They roused other peasants, and Divvoka and his nephew, Bheema, seized the throne of Bengal for some time. But a confederation of landlords from various parts of India crushed the brave spirit of these rebels, naked soldiers on buffaloes, fighting with bows and arrows against war-elephants and heavy cavalry in armour.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Configurational And Values And Institutions Analyses

General: There is advantage in taking Configurational and Values and Institutions Analyses together. One can then see that the development of Values and Institutions is susceptible to reasonable explanation—that which is provided by Configurational Analysis, and that such development does not take place haphazardly.

In Chapter 5 the various Basic Attitudes (under different Functions) which taken together give a comprehensive picture of a society, have been mentioned. For our present purpose we can take the Functions, each as a whole, for simplicity of analysis. The Functions are—Economics, Science and Technology, Family, Social Organisation, Political-Administrative Affairs, Military Affairs, Ideology, and Culture. Economics is taken first as it is this which provides the linkage through all the Functions. The treatment, in Time, is Phase-wise, as by this means the development in each Phase becomes clear.

Values: In the Theo-Artistocratic Stage the Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life is agricultural, as in Stages 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists) and 6 (Theo-Technocracies, River Valley Civilisations), but priests and war-lords now share power and the spoils. There is less of charisma on the part of the rulers than in Stage 6, more of force. But the priest-warrior mix varies from society to society, and in accordance with it, do Values and Institutions. The Prevailing Mentality (Consciousness VII) is also a mixture of the Theocratic and of War-Lordism, in different proportions. The two ruling groups retain their identities, but are modified by each other, the extent of modification depending on the relative strengths of the two groups. This is a matter for empirical determination for each Theo-Aristocratic society, and cannot be obtained by *a priori* reasoning, though comparison shows (as we shall see later) that broad similarities in values, and therefore of institutions, exist between all Theo-Aristocratic societies. For presentation purposes the end-results of the empirical process, as regards Values of Theo-Aristocratic Societies are given below. We have then to see whether

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

they conform to facts and processes in the instant case.

1.	Economics—	Force now supplements the old Theocratic charisma. Which of the two is more widely used depends on which group is stronger in society—priests, or warriors.
2.	Science and Technology—	The warrior is interested mainly in weapons; the priest in only that knowledge which helps him in his religious avocations; also in medicine, mathematics, astronomy, the bases of his hold on the populace. Otherwise he is conservative. Hence, extension of ideas and techniques rather than a continuous series of inventions and innovations.
3.	Family—	Male supremacy. Subjection of women.
4.	Social Organisation—	Hierarchical organisation. Priest-Warrior rivalry for supremacy.
5.	Political and Administrative Affairs	Warriors overshadow priests. Continuous fighting. Hierarchical (feudal) political arrangements. Priest-Warrior
6.	Military Affairs	division of rights for joint domination over serfs and slaves. Feudal insubordination, a "value" for many vassals.
7.	Ideology	Hero-lays and worship of hero-gods
8.	Culture	initially. With greater development came sophisticated ideas, aspiring to universality. Arts and literature suffused with religiosity.

Phase 1 (a) *Configurational Analysis*

(i) *Geography*: Not a critical factor in any of the phases but conditioned the pattern and lines of expansion, viz. along the foothills of the Himalayas and down rivers in a heavily forested sub-tropical country.

(ii) *Natural Resources*: Use of iron to open up the country.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(iii) *Geopolitics*: No effect on this phase. *Sui generis* development.

(iv) *Internal Relations*: The Aryo-Indians, armed with iron weapons, too strong for the Adivasis. So they expanded as conquerors. During this expansion process the warriors, Kshatriyas, were more powerful than the Brahmans. For instance, the legendary Rama and Krishna.

(v) *Burden of Tradition*: There was no Burden of Tradition as yet. Everything was fresh, vigorous, life a great pleasure, ever a clarion call to ceaseless activity of mind and body.

(b) *Values and Institutions/Achievements*

(i) *Economics*: Aryans advanced as tribes, winning new lands. Adivasis became Shudra helots, belonging to tribal units, and *forced* to work for them.

(ii) *Science & Technology*: Iron weapons, mainly iron-tipped arrows; and iron ploughs/hoes, Not much development in them. Great expertise on horses. Shalihotra, probably 8th century B. C., composed several works on horses, chariot management etc. which were even centuries later, translated into Persian, Arabic and Tibetan.[29] Palakapya wrote on elephant lore. Geometry arose out of the necessity of constructing elaborate altars. Atri's composition in medicine goes back to the 8th century B.C. Lagadha's work on astronomy and the calendar, the *Jyotisha Vedanga*, apparently goes back to about the 10th century B.C.[30] The calendar, or *panjika* (as it came to be known) was absolutely essential for fixing proper times for religious, civil and agricultural ceremonies and operations.

(iii) *Family*: Marriage was social, woman's main function in life was to get married and beget children. But woman's position was still honourable. Husbands and wives called each other by name.[31] Kaikeyi saved Dasaratha's

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

5

life in battle by her pluck[32]; and Kaushalya could decapitate a horse by three strokes of her sword[33]—a different picture of her from the later one, which became the traditional one.

(iv) *Social Organisation*: The original hierarchical division was into three classes—the warriors (*rajanyas,* later *Kshatriyas*), the priests (*Brahmans*), and the commoners (*vish*). The defeated and dispossessed non-Aryan tribes became the *shudras,* common property of the conquerors, working, like Spartan helots, as domestic servants and slaves, agricultural slaves, hired labourers and artisans[34]. But they were also members of their *jatis,* functional groupings, and for them the *varna* concept of *shudras* was largely a theoretical one. Originally the *varna* ("colour") classification may have been partly racial, but later a religious explanation was given which has struck in the minds of Hindus. This is found in the *Purusha Shukta* ("Stanza about the Male" i.e. about "Universal Spirit") in the later portion of the *Rig Veda.* Out of the face of the Supreme Male came the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas from his hands, Vaishyas from his thighs, and Shudras from his feet. (*RV* X.90.12). The first three *varnas* were entitled to wear the sacred thread from the day of religious initiation, when they were born again. Hence they were known as *Dvija* or "Twice Born". These initiation ceremonies were for men. Caste-division originally was apparently not very rigid (cf. RV.IX.112), but later became so. There was latent Brahman-Kshatriya rivalry, as the Parasurama legend indicates; but in the period of military expansion Kshatriyas must have taken precedence, as Buddhist and Jain tradition make out. In Iran also the *Hateshtar* or Ratheshtar (warriors) took precedence over the *Atharvan* (priests). Out of the wealthy members of the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

vish arose the traders.[35]

(v) and (vi) *Political/Administrative/Military Affairs*: Warriors or Kshatriyas alone had temporal power, while Brahmans had spiritual power. There was no spiritual temporal power like the European Papacy. This Brahman-Kshatriya division of functions worked excellently indeed for the exploitation of the *vish* and of the *shudras*. Organisationally, at the bottom was the family (*Kula*), with a male head (*Kulapa*) ; several *Kulas* made up a village (*grama*) ; several villages a tribal unit (*vish*), and several tribal units a phratry (*jana*). Several *janas* combined to form a *janapada*. The larger *gramas* or villages were *puras* or citizens. And the whole was included in the tribal kingdom, the *rashtra*. The power of the tribal chiefs was restricted by *jrgah*-like assemblies, the *Samiti*, and baronial councils, the *sabhas*. Thus, the Aryo-Indians built up an elaborate, yet effective political organisation. It seems from the Ekalavya story in the *Mahabharata* that Adivasis were disarmed but all Aryans and Quasi-Aryans, Brahmans (e.g. Drona, Kripa, Parasurama), Kshatriyas and the Vish (e. g. Karna) carried arms.

(vii) *Ideology*: Indra, the great warrior, was the most popular deity of the early Aryans. Then came the other popular warrior nomadic hero and Nature deities and the *gayatri* solar cult. The solar cult may well have originated in the darkness of the North Asian steppes, in the Afanasyevo and Andronovo cultures. Later on, in India, the sun's importance diminished. There were old Aryan shamanistic practices, like the *soma* cult (drinking an intoxicating herbal preparation for mystic visions). There was the fire sacrifice as in the case of the Iranians. Other sacrifices, which meant great income for the Brahmans, were the *Rajasuya*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(royal consecration), *Vajapeya* (drink of strength, a rejuvenation ceremony), and the *ashvamedha* (the horse sacrifice). All these had military connotations and typified the unity of *kratu* (intellect) and *kshatra* (arms) to keep down the others. There were no images, no temples, but only altars, in keeping with warrior nomad practices. In a land of many deities the Brahmans began to have doubts about the gods—

Whence it all came, and how creation happened?
The gods themselves are later than creation,
So who knows truly whence it has arisen?
(R.V.X. 129)

There were vague speculations, like that of *Hiranyagarbha* or Golden Womb, as the beginning of Creation, but no conclusions were reached (R.V. VIII. 100.3).

(viii) *Culture*: The Twice-Born were educated in residential *ashrams*, run by Brahmans. The teaching was oral, the discipline strict.

Phase 2

(*a*) *Configurational Analysis*

(i) *Geography*: The dense sub-tropical forests were the reason for the slowness of expansion. The Turks and Mughals later did not have this trouble, they did not have clear jungles as they went along.

(ii) *Natural Resources and Technology*: The use of the bellows in this period made possible the production of iron tools and implements on a large scale, and so, the clearance of the dense Gangetic forests.[36] The Magadhan iron mines gave it an edge over other states in warfare.

(iii) *Geopolitics*: The North-West was declared "impure", because of the continuous infiltration of tribes who did not care for Brahman rites. Many Brahmans went East. Alexander's raid weakened the North West politically and militarily, making it easier for the Mauryas

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

to move in than would otherwise have been the case.

(iv) *Internal Tensions*: As the East Aryans broke up the Adivasi tribes by force and enslaved them, society became full of tensions.

(v) *Weight of Tradition*: Tradition was still growing, being relatively new, and was being modified by Adivasi ideas, like the Doctrine of *Karma*. Although the North-West was declared "impure" Takshashila (Taxila near the present-day Rawalpindi) continued to be the cultural capital of all Aryo-Indians.

(b) *Values and Institutions/Achievements*

(i) *Economics*: The shudra helots were now used by daring pioneering individuals, breaking away from the tribe, to clear land, and members of the *vish* became *gahapatis* or *grihapatis* (peasant proprietors) and *kutumbikas* (well-to-do peasants). Thus, private property came into existence, and out of the squierarchy grew the merchants. But the old tribal feeling persisted and there was resistance to the disposal of land by sale, gift or mortgage.[37] Some people became very rich indeed, having estates worked by as many as 500 ploughs.[38] The majority were very poor, like the wage-earner Punna of Rajagriha who worked in the field of his employer from morning to night, including holidays.[39] Thus, the old tribal society was being modified, on the base of Shudra helot labour.

(ii) *Science and Technology*: The use of bellows has been mentioned. Arrian and Megasthenes have mentioned the Indian long bow of this period, about six feet, and very deadly. A Malloian arrow from a long bow nearly killed Alexander. The *maha-shila-kantaka,* a huge catapult for hurling heavy stones, and the *ratha-mushala,* a chariot with knives and cutting edges to mow down enemies, are now mentioned.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(iii) *Family*: The East Aryans became harsher towards their women-folk, as it appears from the *dharma-sutras* (law books) and *grihya-sutras* (books dealing with domestic rites) of this period. They were reduced to the status of Shudras in law. Perhaps there were traces of mother-right, as a result of the earlier Indusian influence in the Gangetic Valley, as testified by the bracketing of women and property in the law books.[40] And, hence, the patriarchal law-givers were particularly ruthless in removing all such traces, and in degrading women.

(iv) *Social Organisation*: The concept grew up of *dharma*, which A. L. Basham translates as "the divinely ordained norm of good conduct",[41] separate for different *varnas* and *jatis*. The Shudras were used for all kinds of manual labour, and in a ruthless manner. Freshly enslaved Adivasis, with vestiges still of spirit in them, revolted, got out of hand, violated Aryan women.[42] Many slaves ran away. But the slaves were not united enough for a general revolution. The Shudra slave had to use the thrown-away clothes of people of higher *varnas* and to eat the remains of the master's food. They had no rights to education. They had to prostrate themselves before people of higher *varnas*, and the mere sight of them, while eating, led to food-pollution. The penalty for killing a shudra was the same as for the slaughter of a crow, an owl, a frog, a dog, etc.[43] Gautama laid down that it was quite proper to take money by force or fraud from a shudra to defray the marriage expenses of a girl. Vashishta and Gautama tried to keep in place the traders, or Vaishyas, (arising from the Aryan *vish*), as they were becoming too rich. Thus, Aryan equality ideas were being modified. The *varna* groups were being converted

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

to *jatis*.[44] Aryans who had advanced too far and had forgotten Aryan customs were reclaimed for Aryan society by the *vratya stoma* ceremony and education. Resisters to the Aryo-Indians, Aryan and non-Aryan, apparently became Untouchables.[45]

(v) and (vi) *Political and Military Affairs*: This aspect has already been covered in the "Life Course". The political centre gravitated east and east, and finally stayed firmly in iron-rich Magadha. With the thinning out of the Aryo-Indians, *sabhas* and *samitis* became less and less effective, except in compact Aryan tribal regions (Mallas, Shakyas, Lichchavis etc.). Absolute kingdoms grew up, contending for paramountcy, ending ultimately in victory for Magadha. In this process the Kshatriyas killed each other off, and strong-armed Adivasis or Shudras became rulers under Brahman tutelage.

(vii) *Ideology*: Many ideas, of Adivasi origin, were borrowed and "etherealised". Thus were born the Doctrine of *Karma* or reincarnation according to one's good or bad works in previous lives; Pantheistic Idealism of the Upanishads; and the Doctrine of Maya, or Cosmic Illusion. Some of these ideas seem to have been first conceived by Kshatriyas. Apparently the whole sub-conscious motivation was to explain the utter harshness and ruthlessness of the contemporary world, and to find justification for the cruel treatment of the conquered, uprooted, and enslaved Adivasis. These ideas, in relation to their relevance today, will be dealt with in a later section of this chapter. With the suicide of the Kshatriyas, the importance of their special god, Indra, vanished. He became a semi-ridiculous figure, like a later-day Lucknow nawab.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(viii) *Culture*: Takshashila and Varanasi were now great university centres. Baudhayana composed his *Sulva Sutras*—geometry for altar construction. It is possible that the well-known Eastern mispronounciation of Vedic (Maudgalyayana, for instance, was pronounced Moggallana, the distinction between the three 's' not observed etc.) and the bad grammar of the Easterners (Magadhans) partly provided the stimuli for Yaska's *Nirukta* (Linguistics, 5th century B.C.) and Panini's grammar—*Ashtadhyay* ("Eight Chapters" 4th century B. C.), scientific works widely esteemed among the knowledgables all over the world even today. These authors belonged to the North-west, and taught, probably at Takshashila, where Magadhans and others went in search of knowledge and a U-pronounciation. (a la Nancy Mitford!).

Phase 3

(*a*) *Configurational Analysis*

(i) *Geography*: The Aryo-Indians now spread beyond the Old Pale, to New Ground, Kashmir, Bengal, Central India, Deccan, the South, not by conquest, but by colonisation and infiltration, largely by Brahmans. Local rulers assisted in this process, attracted by Brahmanical scientific knowledge and religious charisma. The "New Ground" thus became "Sanskritised" in culture, with the four-*varna* scheme in theory, but a two-*varna* Brahman-Shudra actuality, all non-Brahman *jatis* being lumped as Shudras.

(ii) *Natural Resources and Technology*: Use of Iron became still more widespread. The Theocrats reached new heights in their pursuit of astronomy and medicine.

(iii) *Geopolitics*: Two more waves of white men streamed in from the North-West, one after the fall of the Mauryas, the other during the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

time of the Guptas and afterwards. They were absorbed by the Aryo-Indians. But they gave the death blow to the Republican tribes of the North West, in their old form.

(iv) *Internal Relations*: Maurya Centralisation failed—the country was too vast, the resources not adequate enough. The Gupta effort and Harsha's, at empire, were progressively more short-lived and less effective. *Samanta* or feudal rule, smaller kingdoms, feudal struggles and feudal insubordination, now became the standard pattern.

The Kshatriyas having committed suicide, the Vish largely busy in making money (although the Guptas came from the Vish, or commonalty), the Brahmans were now indisputably at the top. But the Aryo-Indians now had to let the Deshajas ("Country-Born") come into their fold, as Shudra farmers. As the Brahmans were now the main colonisers, they became entrenched in the countryside.

The new sub-caste formed out of foreigners, powerful people, accepted hoary Brahmanic traditions and Brahman hegemony easily in the land of their adoption.

(v) *Weight of Tradition*: As the *deshajas* now became members of Aryo-Indian society there grew syncretisms in ideas and religion, of universal application, town and countryside, under Brahman auspices, thus increasing Theocratisation. Syncretisation meant a vaster corpus of knowledge which could not all be memorised. Hence scripts were used for writing, leading to a full flowering of Theo-Aristocratic Indian culture. The still vital and throbbing Indian tradition did not hesitate to borrow certain features from others, like the Greeks. Shudras were also accommodated as regards idols.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) *Values and Institutions/Achievements*

(i) *Economics*: The Aryo-Indians had been advancing as solid tribes, then fighting as tribal kingdoms. When one Aryo-Indian kingdom, Magadha, became supreme, the natural line of development was from unified communal economic activity to State activity, to the public sector and to a controlled economy. The mines did not generate enough resources, so there were the Virgin Lands Scheme, but this was also not adequate and so the currency was debased. After the Mauryan politico-economic system broke down in the 2nd century B.C. the private sector became supreme.[46] The law-givers (Yajnavalkya, Narada, Brihaspati etc.) recognised three grades in the land economy—*Mahipati* (king), *kshetraswami* (landowner) and *karshaka* (cultivator) and allowed partition of land.[47] Tax burdens were lightened. With increased freedom and money in the hands of the people went a greater use of metals, and a heavier iron ploughshare for deep ploughing.[48] These contributed to agricultural growth.

The Guptas, as we have seen, settled newly acquired territories with Brahmans (by *agrahara* and *brahmadeya* grants) and others. Shudras cultivated for them as peasants, the Aryo-Indians supplying superior technical knowledge. Brahmans infiltrated into Kashmir, the Deccan and the South also, invited by rulers, and spread Aryo-Indian techno-economic know-how.

Shudras became now not only farmers, but also pedlars, traders, artisans, and respectable, tax-paying, urban citizens.[49]

Increased production meant increased trade but this was mainly in luxuries. The Gupta and subsequent economies were based on self-sufficient units of production, and coin-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

age was used only for large transactions, barter and cowries for smaller ones.[50]

(ii) *Science and Technology*: The Gupta rulers and soldiers learnt from the Shakas horse archery and the use of the heavy cavalry—the cataphract, and it is this which enabled them to check the White Huns, when Europe practically fell to the Mongoloid Huns.

The Brahmans developed astronomy. Aryabhatta (5th century) expounded the heliocentric theory, and Brahmagupta (6th-7th century A. D.) higher algebra. In medicine, Sushruta's compendium (*samhita*) (4th century A. D.) was internationally known. Rhazes used the Arabic translation in his writings.[51] Indian medicine, with a high development in diagnosis, surgery, dissection methods and materia medica apparently influenced, according to Professor Jean Filliozat, Greece also.[52] Apart from astronomy, mathematics and medicine, the Theocrats took little interest in other scientific knowledge.

The magnificence of the Indian craftsman of this period is seen in the Mehrauli iron pillar which, according to Professor A. L. Basham, "could not have been produced by the best European iron founders until about one hundred years ago."[53]

(iii) *Family*: The trend towards the degradation of woman, observed in the second phase, increased with theocratisation. Manu's tirades against woman—they are the road to hell, they are equal only to Shudras, they must always be under the dominance of some man, father, husband, son, etc. are well-known. But there was ambivalence. As Professor A. L. Basham has said, woman, to the ancient Indian "was at once a goddess and a slave, a saint and a strumpet".[54]

In order not to trouble theocrats in their

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

austerities, love and romance had to be stopped, and the best way was child marriage, although medical authorities like Susruta disapproved of this.[55] The theocrats had their way, and the custom spread downwards by *mimesis* (imitation). But romance could not be stopped. Literature reflects the truth more accurately than Theocrat's law books. We find in the drama *Mricchakatika* (Little Clay Cart), the Brahman Charudatta marrying the prostitute Vasantasena, and the Brahman Sarvilaka marrying his slave Madanika. In the *Malavika-Agnimitra* we find Kshatriyas marrying Shudra women. Manu himself had to recognise *anuloma* (man of higher *varna*) and *pratiloma* (woman of higher *varna*) marriages. Bana, the 7th century A. D. Brahman poet, had a step-brother by a Shudra mother, an instance of *anuloma* marriage.

The anti-feminist Manu forbade widow remarriage,[56] although others like Narada, Parashara etc. allowed a second marriage to a woman if her husband disappeared, died, became an ascetic, was impotent, or lost caste.[57]

All in all, woman's position worsened considerably under Theocratic Anti-Feminism.

(iv) *Social Organisation*: There is strong evidence that when the Maurya Empire disintegrated there was a socio-economic convulsion. "Manu" (anywhere between 200 B.C. to 200 A.D., his work may be a composite one of several authors, after the old Indian fashion), ordained that the king should compel the Vaishyas and Shudras to perform their assigned tasks; for, if they did not, the whole world would be thrown into confusion.[58] The whole world was being convulsed. It was *Yuganta,* the end of an epoch, when even women took to ploughing.[59] The north-west was filled with *Mlechchas,* "impure barbarians" and the Shudras sided with them.[60] The

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

picture of some Shudras temporarily turning the tables on Brahmans occur in several *Puranas*—like Kurma, Matsya, Vayu, Brahmanda[61]—and they can relate only to this period. The same sort of thing befell the Old Kingdom in Egypt when Pharaonic rule was disrupted (2300-2100 B.C.), when the great became hungry, and those who had served them became masters; and when the slave-girls became the mistresses of the "honourable ladies" they had served. The old order was restored by the forceful rulers of the Middle Kingdom, the Amenemhets and the Senusrets, but they had to make concessions to the "lower orders". A similar thing happened in India. The Shungas, the Kanvas, the Guptas, the Satavahanas restored the old order, but concessions had to be made to the Shudras. Not, however, before Manu wrote his savage injunctions against the Shudras in his *Dharma Shastra.* If a Shudra insults a Twice Born with gross invective his tongue is to be cut out.[62] If he mentions them with contumely, an iron nail, ten fingers long, is to be thrust, red-hot into his mouth.[63] If he teaches Brahmans their duties, hot oil should be poured into his mouth and ears.[64]

It has been mentioned earlier, in the "Life Course" that the practice was less harsh than the theory, judging from inscriptions and Fa Hsien's observations. But the discrimination against the Shudras was nevertheless real, and permeated every field of life. He was not even to be addressed by Brahmans as *Bho,* used for all others.[65] And he could be respected only after he had become 100 years old.[66] This frame of mind is reflected in the story of Ramachandra having molten lead poured into the mouth of the Shudra, Shambuka, for performing Brahmanic austerities. This is probably an insertion in Valmiki's *Ramayana,* but

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

it is supported by the otherwise humane and liberal poet of the Gupta era, Kalidasa.[67]

The Shudras now bore with all this. Possibly those who had revolted were compact workers of the Maurya public sector. Now they were either peasants, artisans, pedlars, and respectable citizens; or domestic servants, landless agricultural labourers and communal menials, like village sweepers, with differing economic interests, and so not an organised whole. The Theocrats also divided the "lower orders" into *Shudras* and *Antyas* (Untouchables, now Harijans), polluting the higher castes in different ways, and thus created tension and jealousy between them. The Shudras were disarmed, as the Ekalavya story indicates. The Brahman law books of the period are constantly against the Shudras bearing arms. And above all was the fascinating, insidious and morale-sapping doctrine of *Karma,* reconciling one to life's miseries and humiliations and offering a way out (in the next birth), which not even the Buddhists and the Jains challenged.

The change in the economic position of the Shudras led to concessions being given to them. Minor administrative work was now allowed to them, at local level and elsewhere, as epigraphy and the *dharma-shastras* and *niti-shastras* (text books on politics and ethics, e.g. of Kamandaka) indicate.[68] They could even become ministers, and bear arms in times of emergency.[69] They could study the *Natya Shastra* (drama), some of the philosophical system like Yoga and Sankhya, and epics and histories like the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas,*[70] and perform certain rites. A good deal of food tabus were now imposed on the Aryo-Indians by the Theocrats, and beef-eating was forbidden, but they allowed Shudras to go on eating beef by taking note of the custom in the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Middle Kingdom (*Madhya Desha,* the heart of Aryavarta).[71] And if they were guests they had to be fed, as also the *chandalas* (a Shudra-Brahman offspring, the lowest of the low), although they had to eat last, the higher *varnas* taking precedence in order of their caste.[72] Thus, after about 1000 years of brutal exploitation the hybridized Aryo-Indian upper *varnas* had to give in to numbers, although they maintained their supremacy.

In the post-Mauryan Time of Troubles many Brahmans were no doubt forced to take to many unpleasant jobs. Manu took the opportunity to regulate for all *jatis* what should be done by them in normal times, and what in times of distress—the *apad-dharma* doctrine (duty when in distress). To reconcile this with duty lists and practices of earlier times he introduced the theory of *Kalivarjya,* practices which may have been permissible in earlier times, like widow-remarriage, exogamy, sharing meals with members of other classes, but which are to be avoided in the dark *Kali Yuga,* when men are no longer naturally righteous. Manu was terrified at the idea of *varna-samkara,* the confusion of castes, as it might upset the delicate social balance. But he introduced this flexible concept (*varna-samkara*) to assimilate numerous aboriginal tribes and foreigners, and give them a suitable place in the *varna-jati* scheme, which could apparently also move up and down according to their strength and power, by suitable Theocratic interpretation of the oral and esoteric *Shastric* texts. This made the new castes beholden to the Theocrats, and subservient to them. They will be described in Chapter 16, as an appendix to this one.

In the New Ground Areas like Kashmir, Bengal, the Deccan and the South, Brahmans

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

infiltrated from among the established Aryo-Indians, in adequate numbers, and not so much the *Vish* (the Kshatriyas had committed suicide). Hence in these areas the only two *Varnas* were Brahman and Shudras, and the *jatis* amongst the Shudras moved up and down, in practice according to their socio-economic strength, in theory according to the degree they did or did not pollute the Theocrats, specially in matters of food and drink, according to the reckoning of the Theocrats themselves.[73]

Thus, the net effects of the social development during this period were:—

(i) the Theocrats were well entrenched in the countryside;

(ii) the "natives" became part of the Aryo-Indian *varna-jati* scheme;

(iii) outsiders were also absorbed into this scheme by the theory of *varna-samkara*, and moved up and down according to Theocratic interpretation;

(iv) the Theocrats came to be at the top of the world;

(v)/(vi) *Political/Military Affairs*: The developments during this phase—Maurya centralisation, its failure, and the emergence of feudal or *samanta* rule have been mentioned in the "Life Course". Absolutism, in its natural course, leads to power-madness and the inability to delegate. We find this again and again in Indian history where records are available. Thus Ashoka Priyadarsi, the "Beloved of the Gods" says in the 6th Major Rock Edict: "At all times, whether I am eating, or am in the women's apartments, or in my inner apartments, or at the cattle-shed, or in my carriage, or in my gardens—wherever I may be, my informants should keep me in touch with public business" (Romila Thapar's translation). From the modern management point of view this

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

was most unsystematic, and orders were apparently autocratic. Unless one ensured a constant supply of superhuman, benevolent autocrats such organisations, without proper systems of delegation, were bound to crash sooner or later, as they did again and again.

We find from literature, inscriptions etc. that most of the ministers and administrators were Brahmans. These worldly Brahmans, wily and shrewd, were what would have been called in Andhra Pradesh *Niyogi* Brahmans, as contrasted with the pious, devoted, sacerdotal and poor Brahmans, mainly of the countryside, the *Shastris*. They also correspond to the Muslim-Indian *ulema-i-duniya* (worldly divines) and *ulema-i-akhirat* (divines of "final things").

(vii) *Ideology*: Living close to the people the Brahmans now became more responsive to them and began to officiate as priests even for Shudras, as the Buddhist work *Vajrasuchi* clearly says, and Yajnavalkya hints.[74] Thus, popular cults, of which the hybridized Aryans had taken no notice so far in their books, like those of Vishnu, Shiva and Shakti, began to come within their ken, as literature, epigraphy and coins indicate. These were all, naturally, liberal to the Shudras, as the creeds were initially theirs, and their adoption by the Brahmans led to some reconciliation in the religious plane. The Brahmans also had the opportunity to permeate the minds of Shudras with the bewitching doctrine of *Karma*, and to promise them even Brahmanhood in the next life if they were of good conduct in this. Thus, 2000 years after the panoplied warriors of priestly Hariyupia (Harappa) of the Indusians fell to the disciplined soldiers of Abhayvartin Chayamana, the Theocrats had again reasserted their supremacy. The Kshatriyas had killed each other

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

off, and the Vish were busy making money. The esoteric and learned Brahmans, rigid yet flexible, conservative yet moving with the times, dogmatic and pragmatic at the same time, had won through. They relied on no church, no large-scale institutions, but on their own unofficial councils, debates, constant travelling and intermingling among themselves to impose a measure of uniformity all over the country, a unity in diversity, helped by their passional metaphysics, and secret monopoly of knowledge, religious and secular, all of which cast a spell on a credulous and gullible population, largely of food-gathering tribal origin.

On the "higher plane" philosophy was systematised into "six systems"—*Nyaya* ("Analysis") and *Vaisheshikha* ("Particular Characteristics") ; *Sankhya* ("Enumeration") and *Yoga* ("Application"/"Yoke") ; *Mimamsa* ("Settlement of Enquiry") and *Vedanta* ("End of the Vedas") ; there was the doctrine of *Avataras,* or reincarnation of God ; and the *Gita* doctrine of duty, non-attachment, devotion and grace. On the popular plane the hero-god Indra's place was taken by Krishna, and syncretism of all cults took place grouped around three sects, those of Shiva, Shakti and Vishnu, tolerant of each other, and intersecting in certain ideas and practices. These sects were linked, in a loose way, in the concept of Trimurti—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, Shiva the Destroyer. These sects were attached to the higher philosophies for the benefit of intellectuals. For the first time we have a religion recognizably "Hindu" as we know it today—Pauranic Hinduism. All these aspects will be dealt with later in this chapter.

(viii) *Culture* : As in other spheres several new developments took place during this phase, partly to cater to the needs of the new en-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

trants to Aryo-Indian society. These were:—

(i) the appearance of scripts—Brahmi and Kharoshti; although the Aryo-Indian Theocrats must have known of the use of scripts by their neighbours, they were a secretive people and kept their knowledge esoteric by fantastic mnemonic devices as long as they could; but beyond a certain point even they had to take recourse to writing, specially to conserve popular lore which was not sacred, and therefore not worth memorising;

(ii) the predominance of Sanskrit (as contrasted with the Buddhist, popular Pali, a democratic language), the supra-regional language of the Brahmans, corresponding with Brahman ascendancy; the first composition that we have in Sanskrit is the Shaka Rudradaman's inscription in the second century A. D.;

(iii) the creation of epic literature in Sanskrit —*Mahabharata, Ramayana,* the *Purnas,* whch could be read out to and enjoyed alike by aristocrats and commoners;

(iv) as a consequence of the adoption of the script, the rise of Court literature—Sanskrit poetry, and drama and prose stories;

(v) writing, partly stimulated by the Aryo-Indians, in Tamil in the New Ground area of Tamilaham; and some in Prakrit in the Deccan New Ground area:

(vi) temples and growth of idol-worship among Aryo-Indians;

(vii) growth of Zodiacal astrology, stimulated by the Greeks. Of the literature read out and explained to the people the *Purnas* must have been especially popular, with their fantastic tales and their

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

comprehensive nature—cosmology, genealogy, history, stories, legends, religious lore and instructions. The eighteen main *Puranas* took form possibly in the Gupta era, the most well-known being the *Vayu, Vishnu, Agni, Bhavishya* and *Bhagavata* Puranas. These Puranas were also sectarian, and through them the Brahmans, now entrenched deeply in the countryside, propagated their ideologies on *Dharma* (the good life), *Artha* (life in society), *Kama* (love life) and *Moksha* (liberation from *Karma* and *Samsara*).

Court literature was stylized and sophisticated, the chief raw material being love, romance and fighting. Fitting in with the predominance of Theocrats in society, moralising was prominent in poetry, and gnomic verses, often of a dry, worldly-wise humour, were very popular. Kalidasa (5th-6th century A. D.) was a great and humane poet. Bhartrihari (7th century A. D.), fluctuated between worldly and monastic life and wrote beautiful poems on love, morals and renunciation. Amaru (7th century A. D.) wrote of lovers in all their moods, bliss and dejection, anger and devotion. Many of the poems dealt with gods and goddesses, and kings and heroes.

In the Sanskrit drama there were no tragedies. At least the curtain, the *yavanika*, diminutive of Yavana (Ionian), betrays its provenance. Perhaps Classical drama itself was stimulated by Greek comedies acted in the courts of Indo-Greek kings in North-West India. Kalidasa again is the foremost Sanskrit dramatist, but there are many others,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

dealing with court themes, harem intrigues, love, war etc. The *Mriccha-katika* (Little Clay Cart) of Shudraka (4th-5th century A. D.) is the most realistic of Indian dramas. It portrays the love of Charudatta for the courtesan, Vasantasena, and is full of vigour, life and action. Dandin, Subandhu and Bana, all in the 7th century A. D. wrote stories. Dandin's work is full of realism and tells us much about low life.

Some of the Shangam literature in Tamil (300 B.C. to 700 A.D.) was inspired by the Aryo-Indians, like the *Perungadai* (Sanskrit-*Brihatkatha*) of Kongu-velir, telling of the adventures of Naravahanadatta, the son of the celebrated Udayana of Kaushaimbi[75]; and the *Sivaga-Sindamani,* about the Buddhist-physician, Jivaka. The Tamil classic *Shilappadigaram* (The Jewelled Anklet) of Prince Ilango Adigal, probably 4th-5th century A. D., is a masterpiece, dealing with the love of the luckless Kovalan and his wife, Kannagi. It is forceful and has a splendour unparalleled elsewhere in Indian literature.

Hala, in the new ground of Satavahana Deccan (1st century A.D.) wrote *Saptasataka* (Seven Hundred Verses) in Prakrit. There are simple and natural descriptions and reference to the lives of peasants and of the lower classes.

Fitting in with no genre is Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra* ("Verses on Love"), probably written in the Gupta period, or near-about, a book on erotic techniques and approdisiac recipes and charms

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

giving, incidentally, a lot of information about the life of the upper classes of his time.

The new, syncretistic, religious outlook meant the triumph of the pre-Aryan *puja* (Dravidian—"flower worship"),and of *bhakti* or devotion to a personal deity, over the Aryan *yajna*. Therefore, it implied temples to house images. So far the Aryo-Indians had been aniconic and had sacrificed on open air altars, while the others had their trees and their stones, the proto-type of images, and small clay deities ranging back from Indusian times. By all knowledgable account the temples owed their origin to Greek stimulus, and the earliest Indian temples, the Jandial in Taxila, Sanchi (5th century A. D.), Deogarh near Jhansi (6th century A. D.) show Greek influence. The temple form also was more or less the same as that of the Greeks. One went up the steps to a porch (*ardha-mandapa*), *which* led to a hall for worshippers (*mandapa*); this was joined to the small dark shrine-room (*garbhagriha*—literally "womb-house") through a vestibule, the *antarala*. Later on a big dancing hall came into existence between the *ardha-mandapa* and the *mandapa*. One had religious discourses, reading from the *Puranas*, recitations, dances, etc. here, and this was the cultural centre of the village or town.

Two broad styles of Indian temple architecture developed, although there are many schools—the Northern with curvilinear towers (*shikhara*) with rounded tops, and the Southern, with its

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

shikhara in the form of a rectangular truncated pyramid.

In the South the temples evolved out of the chariots in which the images of deities were taken out in procession, and hence are appropriately called *rathas*. In the Mahabalipuram complex (7th century A.D.), for instance, there are seven monolithic *rathas*. Aihole of the Chalukyas, near Badami, was another great centre of temple construction during this period.

Indian temples of this period are not striking by the side of Buddhist *stupas, dagobas or* pagodas, Muslim mosques and Christian churches and cathedrals.

If the temples fail to impress this cannot be said of sculptures, and two of them may be counted as world masterpieces, the eight-armed Durga Mahishamardini (Durga, the slayer of the Buffalo-Demon) frieze from Mahabalipuram, vigorous, dynamic, aesthetically well-balanced; and the delicate, romantic, lyric lovers of Isurumuniya, near Anuradhapura in Ceylon, 7th century A.D. in the Pullava style.

Hindu idols probably originated from Adivasi stone, although some have also stipulated Greek stimuli. In any case it is a new feature of this period so far as Aryo-Indians are concerned and both sources of origin, i.e. a double origin, may be quite likely. Many Hindu idols are many armed, and some have more than one face. The Trimurti represents Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. The many-armed deities also, no doubt, originally represented certain syncretisms, like Egyptian amalgamations (Amon-Re, Isis-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Hathor etc., and still later, Serapis). Later on the precise syncretisms were forgotten and the images were thought to be symbolic and not representational.

During this period zodiacal astrology, inspired by the Greeks, came into vogue, the original Indian fore-casting system having been different. This matter will be dealt with further in Chapter 31.

The treatment of widows, it has been mentioned earlier, came to be very bad from this time. She was inauspicious, and the harbinger of bad luck. If a woman did not have children, and sometimes otherwise also, she may have preferred to commit *suttee,* self-immolation in her husband's funeral pyre (Lit. *sati*- "a virtuous woman"). Suttee is first heard of in the Eran inscription near Sagar in Madhya Pradesh, A. D. 510. Hence it is not in accordance with old Indian traditions, and may have been a Central Asian tribal innovation, probably a Huna-Gurjara one. (The Rajputs, partly at least of Huna-Gurjara extraction, followed it extensively). The poet Bana (7th century A. D.) and the resolutely pro-feminist Tantrics (who worshipped the Mother Goddess) were strongly against *suttee.*

Phase 4: (a) *Configurational Analysis*

Society became economically and culturally self-sufficient and the internal relations between *varnas* and *jatis* took on a relatively stable aspect. It is a sad and harsh truth that tensions contribute to growth. In this stable and nearly stagnant millieu science also became stagnant. The desire to borrow science and technology from others when it was better, as in the past, ceased. External influences were at the minimum during this period, as the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the testimony of Al-Beruni also shows. If there had been more intermingling with outside forces there would have been more life and vigour. As it was the heavy burden of tradition, in the hands of esoteric, knowledge-monopolising Theocrats, adept only at rote learning, prevented all development and innovation. This applied to military matters also, and led to disastrous defeats at the hands of the Turks, and to the loss of political independence.

(b) *Values and Institutions/Achievements*

(i) *Economics*: Professor R. S. Sharma has summarised the broad developments during this late period, thus[76]:

(i) growth of individual ownership of land at the cost of royal and communal ownership; i.e. usufructuary rights in land were converted to proprietary rights.

(ii) subjection of the peasantry through sub-infeudation, eviction and imposition of non-customary taxes and forced labour;

(iii) conversion of income from trade and crafts into benefices; and

(iv) the emergence of a self-sufficient economy buttressed by lesser use of coins and comparative absence of trade.

(ii) *Science and Technology*: Cross-fertilisation with ideas from abroad now ceased. This was practically wholly due to the triumph of the "Theo" element. As the Theocrats were the main carriers of culture knowledge became theologically-oriented. It was also written down in Sanskrit, which had ceased to be a spoken language. As a result, education consisted of learning statements by heart and in not questioning the *guru,* a frame of mind quite different from Upanishadic times. After the great Abbasid scientific achievements the Arab Theo-Mercantile civilization had succumbed to the 'Theo' element and to *Bila Qayf*—believing without reason. A similar development

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

took place in India. This led to stagnation, conservatism and extreme conceit. Says the 11th century Persian scholar, Alberuni :[77] "According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever..... If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is."

It was this intellectual stagnation, this complete submission to religious dogma that led to such backwardness that Indians, according to Marco Polo, just did not know "how to treat a horse" ; Indians, the cultural descendants of the Aryans, the original possessors of the horse ! And Friar Menetillus, also in the 13th century, commented on the inefficiency of Hindu ship and port management.[78]

Bhaskaracharya (12th century) was the last great Indian scientific thinker in the Classical style, his main work being on epicycles, the revolution of planets and the motion of the sun.

In medicine and pharmacology we have a lot of compilers and encyclopaedists and commentators on past authorities like Charaka and Vagabhatta. They were chewing the cud as late as the 16th century when Bhava Mishra of Benares was still on this type of job.

(iii) and (iv) *Family and Society* : 'Natives' were incorporated in Aryo-Indian society in large numbers. This cultural integration meant that many primitive rites, including sexo-psychological fertility ceremonies, had to be incorporated in Hinduism. And to fit in numerous tribes and peoples into the *Varna* scheme several new *jatis* had to be created, using Manu's *Varna-samkara* theory. The number in the *Brahmavaivarta Purana,* per-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

taining to this period, is of the order of a hundred. During this period there was a growth in foreign trade, leading to the establishment of new towns. Pushpa Niyogi enumerates eight in Gujarat and twenty five in North India, the list not being exhaustive.[80] The *Vaniks of* Gujarat and Sindhis became millionaires, exporting chiefly textiles. Internal wholesale trade in consumption goods like salt, cereals, spices, pulses, oil, betel-leaves etc. came to be monopolised by communities like the Marwaris, Aggarwals etc. South India had her own merchants for export and internal trade—the *manigramam, valanjiyar* and *nanadeshi chetties.*

(v) and (vi)—*Political and Military Affairs* : This has already been dealt with under the "Life Course".

(vii) *Ideology* : This was the Era of Logomachy and "Second Religiousness", (a new, mystic form), sometimes combined in the same proponent. Shankara (8th-9th centuries) a Nambudiri Brahman from Kerala, was primarily a logician although he had a devotional side also. He taught of the world as *Maya* or illusion at the level of highest cognition. He borrowed heavily from Buddhist psychology and metaphysics (specially from Nagarjuna) and Buddhist organisational methods and hence was called a "crypto-Buddhist". He preached Pantheistic Vedantic *Advaita* ("allowing no second" to the supreme soul, *Brahman*) or *Kevaladvaitya* (only monism). He did not recognise the separate existence of human souls. He organised four *mathas* or monasteries, at four corners of the country, was an excellent preacher, and tried to wean away people from Buddhism by stealing its thunder (ideas of cognition, World Soul etc.). Shankara came to have widespread influence among intellectuals. The *Maya* doctrine was uncongenial to the acquisition of empirical and scientific knowledge.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The loosening of feudal bonds through trade revival in the South helped in the support given to the anti-Establishment devotional (*bhakti*) cults. This *bhakti,* as Professor Nilakanta Sastri says, of a fervid, emotional surrender to God, was very different from the calm dignified devotion of the Bhagavatas of the early centuries before and after Christ in Northern India.[79] From the 7th to 10th centuries, 11 sacred books of the Tamil Shaivites, the *Tirumurai,* were composed by the 63 *Nayanars* ('Teachers', 'Leaders'). Chief among these were the *Tevaram,* containing hymns by Nanasambandar, Appar and Sundaramurti, and the *Tiruvasagam* of Manikka Vasagar. The Tamil Vaishnavites produced, during this period, the *Nalayiram* ("Four Thousand"), a collection of stanzas attributed to the twelve *Alvars* (divers into the qualities of god). Later, similar hymns were composed in Telugu and Kannada. These devotional cults absorbed the anti-Establishment Buddhism while Jainism continued as a 'parish religion', in the words of Romila Thapar. These *bhakti* cults were also a response to the Aryan-Brahman ideological challenge in the South.

The more prominent of the philosophic cult leaders were Ramanuja (11th-12th centuries) and Madhava (13th century). Ramanuja from Tamilaham, taught *Vishistadvaita* or Qualified Monism. He taught that individual souls were separate from God. He admitted the necessity of rituals, but taught that the best means of realising God was by intense devotion, or *bhakti-yoga.* He was, in the words of Romila Thapar, ".....an effective bridge between the devotional cult and Hindu theology, attempting as he did to weave what appeared to be two divergent strands."[81]

Madhava, from the Kanarese-speaking area, taught *Dvaitavada* or Dualism. God (Vishnu),

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

individual souls and matter are distinct for all times. Vishnu saves souls entirely by his grace, which is vouchsafed only for those who lead pure and moral lives. Evil souls are predetermined to eternal damnation, which is conceived of as infinite remoteness from God, while souls of mediocre quality will transmigrate eternally.

Madhava believed that Vishnu bestows his grace on a devotee through his son Vayu, the wind-god, comparable to the Holy Ghosh (Hebrew/Syriac-rueh—wind breath, spirit) of Christianity. Madhava as a boy disputed successfully with learned Brahmans in a temple; he fed multitudes with handfuls of food ; he walked on water; he stills the angry ocean with a glance—all, indeed, indentical with the deeds of Jesus Christ. Christians from Syria had settled in Kerala from the beginning of the Christian era so that about one-third of Kerala today is Christian. Hence, Christian influence on Madhava is understandable.

Bhakti went to the North from the Dravidian country, according to a popular Hindi saying. The *Bhagavata Purana* itself says, as is well-known, that Bhakti arose among the Dravidians. The Nayanars, Alvars, Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhava, all came from the South. In the words of Romila Thapar, the "South was in the ascendant."

If Madhava was influenced by Christianity, a fellow-Kannadiga, Basava (12th century), a former Jain, was influenced by Islam. His sect, the Lingayat or Virashaiva, was strongly anti-Establishment in that it questioned the Vedas and the theory of rebirth (*karma*). Basava taught Shiva worship in the form of a *lingam*. He was opposed to Brahmans and ordained a new priesthood, the *jangamas*. He was against pilgrimages and sacrifices. He gave complete equality to his followers, including women, who

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

were allowed to remarry on the death of their husbands. Basava also condemned cremation and recommended burial. Lingayat temples, like for instance the Onkareswara at Mercara, which follows a mosque pattern architecturally, are simple and austere.

In the New Ground area of Kashmir a school of Shaivism arose known as *Trika* (Triad), as it had three chief scriptures. Kashmir Shaivism was monistic, like Shankara's. For this school salvation came with an act of sudden enlightenment (like the *satori* of Zen Buddhism). Its greatest theoretician was Abhinava Gupta (10th century A.D.), brilliant alike in poetics as in theology.

The tantric or submerged fertility cults came to the surface in the third phase. Now, in the Late Period, it also developed logomachy and Second Religiousness. Its most important text is Matsyendra Natha's *Kulajnana Nirnaya* (11th century). The *Nathapanthis,* like Goraksha Natha, were his followers. On the philosophic side *Kula* meant the assemblage of *matr, mana* and *meya*—the perceiver, perception and the perceived. The one and the same consciousness takes these three forms and ultimately there is *abheda,* or non-duality. The mind and the sight become united; the sense organs lose their individuality; Shakti (the Supreme Being conceived of as the Mother Goddess) becomes identical with the perceiver, and the sight merges into the objective to be visualised. On the yogic side *Kula* is *adharachakra* at the bottom of the spinal cord. Connected with it is an artery, the *sushumna,* through which psychic energy travels to the *sahasrachakra* in the brain at the top. From there trickles the ambrosia known as *Kulamrita,* which enables one to conquer even death.[82] The Kaula system became more and more complicated as time passed; and, along with yogic

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

exercises, restraint of many kinds in ordinary life, democracy, the highest respect for women (as befits the worshippers of Shakti) went certain fertility rites like ritual copulation, the eating of human faeces and the drinking of urine, blood, semen, marrow etc. Bhavabhuti's *Malati Madhava* is full of illusions to Tantric practices. Stories like *Vetala Panchavimsati* testify to the general prevalence of *Tantric* ideas among the multitudes, but these were particularly strong in the New Ground of East India and Kashmir, where even the Brahmans fell under their spell (as testified, for instance, in Kashmiri Brahman surnames like Kaula, Kaul etc.).

(viii) *Culture*: Work in Sanskrit in the old literary genres continued. The most distinguished among the poets were the Kashmiri Bilhana (11th-12th century) and the Bengali Jayadeva (12th century), from the New Ground. Bilhana's *Chaura Panchashika* (Fifty stanzas of the Thief) describes the secret love of a bold housebreaker and a princess.

Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* (Song of the Cowherd), describing the love of Krishna for Radha and the milkmaids is erotic, sensual, but full of word magic as well as religious feeling.

We see democratisation in the form of story-collections for ordinary people like Somadeva's *Katha-Sarit-Sagara* (Ocean of Story) (11th century) based on Gunadhya's *Brihatkatha* (Great Story) in Paishachi. Many of these stories found their way westwards, and were included in the Arabian Nights, like the adventures of Sindbad the sailor[83] Narayana, a Bengali, composed the *Hitopadesha* (Good Advice) (12th century), a collection of stories, meant as an introductory Sanskrit reader, witty, lucid, full of terse gnomic stanzas. They inculcate mainly, however, cautious self-interest. Another indication of democratisation is the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

writing of some works in Prakrit.

In Tamil the *Mattolayiram* (9th century) is said to contain the most exquisite love lyrics in Tamil. The best war-poem was written by Jayangondar, the *Kalingat-tup-parani,* celebrating the Kalinga war of Kulottunga I.[84] But the best known Tamil poet of this period is the 12th century Kamban. His *Ramayana* follows Valmiki but adapts and modifies it considerably. His Rama is a master of Tamil as well as Sanskrit. Conforming to Tamil poetic *aham* conventions (about love), kamban introduces a chance meeting of Rama with Sita immediately after his entry into Mithila and gives an elaborate analysis of their mutual feelings—a situation not found in Valmiki. He compresses Valmiki or elaborates hints in it, as in portraying Sita's behaviour on her receiving Rama's ring from Hanuman.

In the 12th century the Kashmiri poet Kalhana wrote his chronicles of Kashmir, the *Rajatarangini* (The River of Kings), the best historical work which has come down to us from our antiquity.

In the Late Phase of an artistic tradition we have continued giganticism (often beginning in the Third Phase—zenith or maturity), elaboration, fine finish. Thus, the Inca Temple of the Sun at Tiahuanaco ; the great-altar of Pergamum ; the Baths of Diocletian and the Arch of Constantine ; the Al-Aqmar mosque with its bold Kufic designs and the tomb-mosque association ; the bas-reliefs of Chia Hsiang Hsien and Hsiao Tang Shan (at the end of the Chinese Theo-Aristocratic) ; Chien Lung's Summer Palace in Peking, the Ming blue and white cloisonne, the blue Kang Hsi ware (end of Chinese Theo-Mercantile) ; and so on.

We find similar developments in India. The Pallava temple style was developed into gigan-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

ticism under the Cholas of Tanjuvur (10th-12th century) ; the *Shikhara* of the Brihadeeshwara Shiva Temple at Tanjuvur, built by Rajaraja the Great (985-1014), rose to a height of nearly 200 feet and set the pattern for future temples in the South. The gateway or *gopuram* now came to tower above the *shikhara.* The Shrirangam temple has an outer wall measuring 2475 feet by 2880 feet, and six inner walls, all with *gopurams,* surrounding a comparatively moderate-sized shrine. The Nayaks of Madurai (from the 16th century onwards) developed the temple into a vast complex of structures with imposing gateways and towers. The most outstanding of the Nayak temples, all in Tamil Nadu, are at Madurai, Srirangam, Tiruvarur, Rameshwaram, Chidambaram, Tirunelveli and Tiruvannamalai. There are eleven *gopurams* to the famed Meenakshi temple at Madurai, the most imposing of the temples of India. The one at the southern doorway rises to a height of about 200 feet. Its lofty base and concave curves give it a soaring quality while the surface pulsates with sculptures of deities and semi-divine beings. Incidentally, in the *sabha mandapam* (theatre hall) of the Meenakshi temple is a piece of sculpture which goes even beyond the Women's Liberation movement in portraying the ultimate domination of man by woman, who rides him, in the *Kali Yoga!* For pillars the pride of place goes to the great Rameshwaram temple with its 4,000 feet pillared corridor, each pillar a 12 foot, elegantly carved monolith.

The Chalukyas, the Hoysalas and Vijaynagar built ornate temples. The Vittala temple at Hampi, 16th century, full of brilliant decoration, is the most ornate of Vijaynagar temples.

The great Kailashanatha temple at Ellora, built by the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna I (756-73) is as large as the Parthenon in area, and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

1-1/2 times its size. It is a free-standing temple, cut out of rock, with deep reliefs on the walls from mythology, like Ravana shaking Mount Kailasha, on which sit Shiva and Parvati. Of the same school are the cave sculptures of Elephanta (9th century) including the three-headed colossal Trimurti (Creator/Perserver/Destroyer), perhaps among the highest and most serene plastic expressions of the Hindu concept of divinity. The 56 feet high statute of the Jaina saint, Gomata, at Shravana Belgola, is another example of giganticism.

In the North three styles developed—Orissa, Bundelkhand, and Gujarat and South Rajasthan. The Lingaraja Temple of Bhubaneshwar dominates the landscape with its 127 feet high tower. Other famous temples in this style are the Mukteshwar and the Rajrani Temples of Bhubaneshwar and the Jagannath Temple of Puri. Probably the supreme achievement of the Orissan builder is the colossal Sun Temple at Konarak, with its 225 feet high tower, the highest of any Indian temple. The huge, free-standing sculpture of a war horse in the courtyard, vigorous and dynamic, is one of the masterpieces of Indian art. The sculptures on the temple wall are often frankly erotic, sometimes actually *in coitu.* This aspect will be further considered in the paragraph below, relating to Khajuraho.

A great school of architecture grew up at Khajuraho, about 100 miles south-east of Jhansi, 10th-11th centuries, under the Chandella kings. These temples are elegant, and not very large. The Shaivite Kandariya-Mahadeo is only 100 feet high. There are *shikharas* and clusters of *half-shikharas,* clinging to the main body. Between the sets of *half-shikharas* are *part-shikharas,* the whole array being punctuated by the round *Amalakas* and finials, and their profiles,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

seen from any angle, ascend in a curve. Unity of form is achieved by proliferation and repetition according to proportionate measurement in plan and elevation[85], the whole producing an impression of great elegance.

The erotic carvings on the walls, as at Konarak, have raised much debate. Some of the poses are definitely yogic. For instance, there is a carving of a woman in a sitting position, held by two attendants, and a man with his head and shoulder on the ground copulating with her. Professor H. D. Sankalia points out that this is, for the man, the yogic *Sirshasana* ("Head Stand") pose and is recommended for the retention of the semen.[86] Stella Kramrisch[87], Sankalia, Mulk Raj Anand[88] all agree that the carvings have a religious, Tantric significance. Pramod Chandra (Lalit Kala, Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, pp. 98-117) has explained that sects of Tantriks like the Kaulas and the Kapalikas enjoined the use of five *makaras* (one of them being copulation) for the realization of the *kula*, "the state in which the mind and the sight are united, the sense organs lose their individuality, *Shakti* becomes identical with *jeeva*, and the sight merges into the object to be visualised." We have seen earlier that such doctrines were elaborated during this time by Matsyendra Nath and others. It is clear, therefore, that the Khajuraho and Konarak temples were Tantrik. The Khajuraho temples are small, holding comfortably about 10 persons each, remote, set in a grove (*Kharjuravahaka*, according to inscriptions, is the original name and it means—having a grove of date palms). H. D. Sankalia thinks, therefore, that these were secret, royal chapels where the king and his nearest courtiers practised unorthodox Tantric rites away from the public gaze.[89]

Of quite a different type of elegance is the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

image of Devi Kumari at Cape Comorin, under a beautiful arch, dressed and bejewelled tastefully and not extravagantly, with Deepavali (Diwali) type lights around her. This contrasts very pleasantly with the usual run of images in Hindu temples.

The beautiful Jaina and Hindu temples of Gujarat, built by the Solankis and others are justly famous. One may mention the Sun Temple at Modhera (10th century), a well-proportioned structure with a beautifully carved pillared hall. The celebrated Vimala Vashi Jaina temple of Mount Abu with its intricate marble traceries is of unsurpassed beauty. Palitana, on the Shatrunjaya Hill, 11th century, is a city of elegant temples.

The Tamil bronzes of this period are rightly famous all over the world. Professor A. L. Basham thinks that they have "not been excelled in the world."[90] The sheer grace, simplicity and dignity of these bronzes cannot be conveyed in print. The Dancing Shiva (*Nataraja*) is the most famous of the South Indian Bronzes, specially the one from Chidambaram, in the last phase of the *Tandava* (Cataclysimic, Destructive Dance) pose, with all the hairs flying.

Key-notes Of Development

It is clear from the narration that the phase-development of Values and Institutions is interlinked and is susceptible of rational analysis and explanation. The Key-notes of Development were :—

Phase 1—Expansion of the Aryans and Quasi-Aryans to the Gangetic Plains.

Phase 2—Modification of Aryan *mores* by contact with the Adivasis.

Phase 3—Centralisation, failure, decentralisation, admission of "Natives" to the Aryo-Indian fold, and consequent transformation of ideas and institutions.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Phase 4—Heavy Burden of Tradition, Isolation; Stability. Reversion to near-Theocracy, specially because of the suicide of the Kshatriyas, who could have contended with the Brahmans on equal terms.

The Aryo-Indians showed three remarkable qualities in an initially hostile environment—Originality, Tolerance, Universalism. Caste, *Karma, Maya* are highly original concepts. All groups were accommodated, on very much their own terms, in the *varna-jati* scheme and the religious syncretism evolved and perfected in the third and fourth phases. The doctrines and concepts of the Brahmans were not limited in Time or Space (Country). They aspired to Universality. A huge sub-continent was made one by this aspiration and the concomitant unremitting and persistent effort that it produced, spreading over several centuries.

Intersection With The Buddhist Theo-Mercantile

As the Gangetic forests were cleared, and agricultural surpluses achieved, trade grew, and there was a Second Urban Revolution (the first was in the North-West in the Indusian Period). This was a Theo-Mercantile Civilization, lasting from the 7th century B. C. to the 9th century A. D., which intersected and criss-crossed with the Theo-Aristocratic, like Hindu and Western traditions in present-day India. This Theo-Mercantile civilization will be dealt with in Chapter 22. It ultimately yielded to the Theo-Aristocratic, which devoured and absorbed its teachings and tenets, an instance having been alluded to while mentioning the philosophy of Shankara.

Comparison with other Theo-Aristocratic Civilizations

Seven societies have been selected for comparison with the First Indian Theo-Aristocratic. They are from different parts of the world, and are from the list in Chapter 2. They are the Chinese Theo-Aristocratic, the Japanese Theo-Aristocratic, the West Asian Islamic Theo-Aristocratic, the Spartan Greek Theo-Aristocratic, the Roman Theo-Aristocratic, West European Theo-Aristocratic, and Russian Theo-Aristocratic.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

1. *Science and Technology*: Basic Attitude involved is 'Thinking'. The Theocrat's thinking is already done, the warrior prefers to fight rather than think. Hence we generally have the extension of an idea, of a technique, and chance discoveries and improvements rather than a continuous series of innovations and inventions.
   (a) In the Spartan Greek we only have an extension of neolithic agriculture.
   (b) In the Roman there is nothing astonishingly new. But there are magnificent roads, bridges and aqueducts, of use to Roman soldiers and colonisers.
   (c) In West Europe, West Asian methods of cultivating dry land were useless because of its then water-logged and swampy nature, except on chalk and loess soils. The chance invention in the 5th century A. D. of the heavy moldboard plough, which creates artificial ridges and hollows and so effects drainage, made agriculture on a large scale possible.[91] Agriculture was then extended both by war-lords (from feudal manors) as well as by monks of various orders—Benedictine, Cluniac, Cistercian etc.
   (d) In the Russian Theo-Aristocratic (from the 12th century A. D.) "Western" Technology was continuously appropriated, largely for defence purposes. There was little by way of any *gui generis* development in indigenous technology. Whatever took place in the 19th century belongs to the intersecting Russian Scientific-Democratic society, which will be dealt with in Chapter 27.
   (e) In the Turko-Persian Islamic Theo-Aristocratic (originating in the 11th century A. D., with the Seljuk Turks), new technology was largely borrowed, mainly gunpowder and artillery, from West Europe.
   (f) The Chinese Theo-Aristocratic (12th century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.) was poor in new technological achievements. But there was expansion to South China under the Chou. Under the Han (201 B.C.—to 220 A.D.) Chinese agricultural

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

methods spread to Yunnan, Korea etc. Chinese innovations belong to their Theo-Mercantile stage.

(g) The Japanese Theo-Aristocratic (6th to 18th century A. D.) borrowed its science and technology from the Mainland.

(h) In the first Indian Theo-Aristocratic the main achievement was the use of bellows to produce iron more easily. This meant more iron implements, tools and weapons, which helped substantially in the clearance of the Gangetic jungles. The Theocrats extended their knowledge of medicine, star lore etc. But there was nothing fundamental, as in Indusian days.

2. *Economy*: The Basic Attitudes involved pertain to 'Work' and 'Duty' and here also it is a mixture of Theocratic charisma and credulity—exploitation, and Aristocratic force on the one hand; and peasant obedience on the other.

(a) In Spartan Greece the enslaved peasants, 'helots' worked for their overlords. Poets like Hesiod extolled peasant toil. In due course this meant the Soft Life for the master-people.

(b) Roman economics was also based on agriculture and exploitation of the peasants and urban workmen to start with. This led to continuous plebs v patrician troubles and revolts. Later, foreign loot and slaves led to the Soft Life, and so to decay.

(c) In West Europe, on the collapse of Roman rule, the Germanic conquerors set up the feudal system with its war-lords, retainers, manors, fiefs etc. The land-bound serfs worked for the feudal lords and retainers, who protected them, and who on the agricultural surplus equipped themselves with horses and armour and luxuries, and lived a life of war, romance, carousing and jousts. Out of the Theo-Aristocratic the Theo-Mercantile evolved here, because of the plentitude of minerals, rivers, indented sea-coasts, the heritage of warrior daring etc. The Soft Life could not have the upper hand.

(d) In Russia the autocratic Tsars aided by the landed

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

noblemen, the *boyars,* and the Guards, the *Oprichnina.* The people were held under in ruthless servitude, as depicted even as late as the 19th century by Gogol in his *Dead Souls.* Correspondingly, there was a notoriously Soft Life among the aristocrats, made famous in Goncharov's *Oblomov* (*oblomovschina*) and in Chekov's dramas like *The Cherry Orchard.*

(e) In the Turko-Persian Islamic Theo-Aristocracy a formerly mercantile society was feudalized under the Turkish *ghazis* (conquerors) and the *Yeni Cheri* (New Army). With Iberian and later the West European sea-blockade and Muscovite aggression the importance of trade diminished and the area became completely feudal, with a lazy gentry class, full of the Soft Life, ruling over a resigned peasantry, inured to back-breaking toil and misery. The Soft Life led to corruption and weakness, and in the 19th century Turkey was notorious as "The Sick Man of Europe".

(f) In Theo-Aristocratic China the Chous were feudal lords, the *chun tzu.* The Soft Life here led ultimately to the dissolution of the Chinese Empire and to foreign conquests.

(g) In the Japanese Theo-Aristocratic the agricultural arrangements were completely feudal. As in West Europe, and for the same reasons, it led to and intersected with, the Theo-Mercantile. There was no occasion for the Soft Life.

(h) In India the Shudra helots did all the work for the Aryo-Indian masters, so much so that the Indian elite class came to look down upon all kind of manual work. The old warrior classes (Kshatriyas) killed each other off, and the Theocrats gave a religious sanction and compulsion to hard and "dirty" work for the Shudras. Hence, the Indian elite groups, accustomed to a Soft and Easy Life for centuries, are physically among the laziest in the world.

3. *Family and Society*: Basic attitudes concerned—To

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Fellow Men/Man-Woman relationship. Society was everywhere class divided—Warriors, Priests, Merchants, Labouring Classes; and woman was held to be inferior to man, her role being to serve her lord and husband, to please him, to bear and rear his children. In society there was continuous class-conflict.

(a) In Spartan Greece the helots were the property of the "State" i.e. of the warrior community. The helots revolted again and again.

(b) In the Roman Theo-Aristocratic there were innumerable internal struggles, plebs *v* patricians, class wars, slave revolts (e.g. of Spartacus), with gradually increasing concessions to the "lower orders", although the early efforts of the Gracchi to reach a compromise failed.

(c) In West Europe the aristocrats generally held the peasants down, although some of the jacqueries gave them plenty of trouble, specially when backed by religious ideas, like those of the Lollards and of the Anabaptists.

(d) In Russia the intolerable tensions bred by severe oppression at last led to revolts, like those of Stenka Razin and of Pugachyov in the 18th century.

(e) In Turkish West Asia the conquered were organised in sectional (religio-ethnic) groups (*millets*) and were thought of as cattle (*raiyeh*), to be protected. Because of this, in spite of tension and humiliation, the system apparently held fast. But that it was unstable is proved by the relative ease with which the Turkish Empire was broken up in the 19th century.

(f) In China the invading Chins destroyed the old *chun tzu*, and they and the Hans utilised eunuchs as counterweight to aristocrats and mandarins. Society was full of tensions, which came to the surface in revolts of secret societies like those of the Red Eyebrows (10 A.D.) and of Yellow Turbans (184 A.D.).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(g) In the Japanese Theo-Aristocratic the peasants and untouchables (Eta) were ruthlessly suppressed. The martial classes (*samurai*) set up a military government in Kamakura in the 12th century, and in continuous fighting against the Ainus, extolled the "Way of the Bow and the Arrow".

(h) In Theo-Aristocratic India we have seen that the Adivasis were torn from their roots and set to work in mines and in the Crown villages. Society was full of internal class tensions under the Mauryas—Ashoka tried to lessen them with the Buddhist Doctrine of Social Harmony, but failed. Shudras revolted sporadically, and this could not be kept out of the books in spite of Theocratic *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. Ultimately, by a mixture of concessions and ideological drugging (e.g. *Karma* theory) the Theocrats brought them to heel. In spite of this there was a *Kaivarta* (peasant) rebellion, and temporary seizure of the throne of Bengal (11th century A.D.).

In all these societies women were held under subjection. This is symbolised by the veil in Turkey, the bound feet in Theo-Aristocratic China, the Japanese woman's well-known subservience to her husband, the Crusader's Key in West Europe, the seclusion of women in Spartan Greece and Rome, the floggings for the wife enjoined in the Russian *Domostroy* (Code of the Household), and the notorious tirades of Manu against women in India, accompanied by the degrading system of child-marriage.

4. *Politics/Administration/Military Affairs*: Basic attitudes involved—fighting, duty, justice. Here there is division of the 'Theo' and 'Aristo' elements, due to political rivalry. The warriors were fighters, often with the Gunther-Hagen mentality, overlords with vassals. Usually the warriors overshadowed the priests, but in some cases, where the priestly element was strong, there was bitter rivalry among the two ruling estates.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Justice was class divided, and quite often decided by ordeals. And the Gunther-Hagen mentality, at the end, broke down in dynastic and baronial strifes and in feudal insubordination.

(a) In Spartan Greece the heroic hoplites, typified by Leonidas, who fought the Persians at Thermopylae (480 B.C.), and Lysander, who defeated the Athenians at Aegospotami (405 B.C.), and achieved some sort of unity of the agricultural part of Mainland Greece and of neighbouring islands in the Peloponnesian League. The warrior element completely overshadowed the priestly one. But the Spartan Code of Discipline could not but have been more than satisfactory to even the most austere priest. The Lacedemonian Constitution gave equality only to all free-born citizens, i.e. the majority were excluded. Ultimately, because of dissensions and the stifling of the innovating spirit even in military matters, Sparta fell successively to the Thebans, Macedonians and Romans, the last incorporating it in the Roman Empire.

(b) Rome is so famous for the Roman Empire, Roman law and the Roman political system that these need not be elaborated. The warriors overshadowed the priests but in the end Isis, Mithras and Roman Christianity triumphed over military power. Justice was class-based and there were bitter struggles between the *plebs* and the patricians about its inequities. This, together with dissensions among the rulers, the unequal division of foreign loot, the degrading effects of slavery with the consequential luxury and the Soft and Easy Life among the upper classes led to internal decay, and the Germanic hordes gave the *coup de grace* to the rotting body politic.

(c) In West Europe the warrior element was particularly strong. They fought among themselves, but together managed to check royal absolutism, the English barons leading in this trend with the Magna Carta and the creation of the Parliament.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The doughty warriors of West Europe were bold enough to launch Crusades, to wrest Jerusalem and other holy places of Christendom from the equally doughty Turks and to win and hold them for centuries. They were ultimately pushed out, but the Western feudal system gained a lasting victory over the barbarians of North Europe, who were brought into the West European fold.

The Teutonic rulers were in somewhat inferior position compared to the Christian priests, who used all the forms of Roman organisation and the awe inspiring charisma of the language of the Romans—Latin. The tribal rulers were indebted to Christianity as it increased their importance of the anointed of the Lord, and substituted dynastic loyalty for tribal loyalty. The units for defence and offence thus became larger. The priests in Medieval Europe, therefore, were a strong semi-independent force, a spiritual power with a political temporal apex, owing loyalty to the Holy See at Rome, and Pope and King. (specially the "Holy Roman Emperor") had many bouts of rivalry. Feudal justice was notoriously weighted in favour of the two upper "estates". It was this which ultimately led to the French Revolution. Constant internecine quarrels, feudal insubordination, and the rise of nation states (due to Stage 8 Theo-Mercantile ideas) contributed to the total disappearance ultimately of even the idea of a "Holy Roman Empire".

(d) The Russian Theo-Aristocratic defeated the Mongols (14th-15th century A.D.) and spread right over Siberia and Central Asia and also parts of East Europe. Church and State were integrated, in the Byzantine tradition inherited by Russia. And in such cases of interdependence ideology was most powerful, and therefore, its interpreters, the priests and monks. This is symbolised by the tremendous hold which the monk Rasputin had over the Tsar and Tsarina just before the Bolshe-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

vik Revolution. Justice, like society, was class-divided, as *Russkaya Vyedomosti* ('Russian Justice') makes clear. The intolerable class tensions led to revolts like those of Stenka Razin and Pugachyev in the 18th century. Another sign of strain in the body politics, interjected because of intruding West European Scientific Democratic Society ideas, was the Slavophil *versus* Westernization schism. But Russian Theo-Aristocracy fell because of military defeats suffered in the First World War, leading to the October Revolution of 1917.

(e) The extent of the old Turkish Empire is well-known. Most of West Asia was held by Turkey (i.e. everything except Iran), the North African littoral, and South East Europe. Even as late as 1683 the Turks were hammering at the gates of Vienna. Like the Byzantine and Russian societies Turkish-Islamic society was completely under the sway of the interpreters of the sacred scriptures, led by the Shaikh-ul-Islam at Constantinople. "Class justice" took the form of separate sectional or ethnic justice, administered by the ethnic groups (*millets*) themselves, constituting second class citizens. The Empire finally fell, not only because of the challenge of the Western man at the gates, but also as a result of internal schisms—conflicts of the Turkish rulers with the subject peoples, Albanian, Egyptian, Arab etc.

(f) The Chinese aristocrats built up the Chou Empire (1100-481 B.C.) and the Chin and Han Empires (201 B.C. to 220 A.D.). The Han expeditions of Chang Chien (138/115 B.C.) and Li Kuang Li (104 B.C.) opened up Central Asia.

The Nobility, or *chun tzu,* were governed by codes of chivalry and morality, known as *li* embodied in books of rites like *Li Chi* and *Chou Li.*[92] These rites were performed by the royal household and the *chun tzu,* but some of the scholars (of the "Hundred Schools of Philosophy",

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

of which Confucianism was one), contested their privileges. Later, on the Chin conquest the scholars challenged the new rulers, leading to their near-destruction and the famous Burning of the Books in the 3rd century B.C. The "scholars" here, spiritual descendants of Chinese Theocrats of the Hwang-ho River Valley civilisation, were analogous to priests elsewhere.

Theo-Aristocratic Chinese society was notoriously class-divided. The *chun tzu* were members of a hereditary class,[93] not subject to laws, which were meant for the "people".[94]

The Chinese Empire, like other Theo-Aristocratic ones, fell because of internal decay, caused by constant strife between the consort families, eunuchs, scholars and generals, a malady of which the Revolt of the Yellow Turbans in A.D. 184 was a portentous pointer.

(g) In Japan the Theo-Aristocrats defeated the Ainus, unified Japan, and even attempted to conquer China, raiding Nanking in 1597-98. *Bushido,* the way of the *samurai,* was developed. Government and religion (*shinto*) were originally unified, so much so that the name of the former was the same as that of the latter-*matsurigoto.*[95] The much better organised Buddhism, with its advanced doctrines and concepts, drove shinto to the background, but Shinto remained connected with the royal family. The victory of Buddhism over Shinto was not as complete as that of Christianity over Teutonic religions in West Europe. Nevertheless, Buddhism was very powerful, so much so that from the time of Nobunaga in the 16th century the State discouraged it, and fostered Confucianism and revived Shinto as counterweights.[96]

There were, besides the free classes, five unfree ones, slaves and untouchables (the *eta*) and justice was brutally class-oriented. In their island-kingdom the *samurai* held together till the Ameri-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

can Admiral Perry's opening-up by naval bombardment in 1853.

(h) In the first Theo-Aristocratic Indian, we have seen that the ruling classes were divided into two groups, the Kshatriya warriors and the Brahman priests. All temporal power belonged to the former, and spiritual power overwhelmingly to the latter (the exceptions were the *rajarshis—king-sages*). But the Kshatriyas committed suicide as a class by constant fighting among themselves. The *Adivasis,* foreigners and mixed groups who were sucked up into the resultant power vacuum were neophytes in the Aryo-Indian tradition and so became subservient to Brahman Theocrats. Justice was class (caste) divided, but for certain offences like theft Manu provided for graded higher penalties for higher castes, the higher the caste the more the penalty, obviously on the theory of *nobless oblige.* After repeated attempts at centralisation (Maurya, Gupta, Harsha's) India settled down to a system of constant dynastic and baronial (*samanta*) strifes and of feudal insubordination.

5. *Ideology/Culture* : In this category the most important things to note are the importance of religious ideas, the living reality of hero-lays in the earlier stages and sophistication later ("Classical" writing), and the general suffusion of the arts and architecture with religion or with the martial spirit.

(a) Spartan Greece was the homeland of the Olympian Greek religion, portrayed by Homer, and its repository. The heroic poems of Homer are well-known and Hesiod extolled the Hard Life. The Spartans loved their heroic poetry. Terpander invented the *scolia,* or drinking songs; Tyrtaeus roused Spartans by his martial songs and music; and Alcman, a great eater and womaniser, specialised in sophisticated songs of wine and love, and in the *parthenia,* or "maiden songs" for choruses of girls. Thus, the aristocratic overshadowed the theocratic.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) In the Roman Theo-Aristocratic we have *pietas* and *gravitas* in the early days, and later Stoicism, and Epicureanism, the last being an index of the Soft Life. Christianity and other foreign religions initially had a hold mainly over slaves. The earlier Romans were satisfied by hero-lays, like those of Horatius and Andronicus; and of translation into Latin of the Greek *Odyssey* as stories of Ulysses. After about five hundred years as a power, and coming into contact with various countries, the Romans became sophisticated and produced Classical Latin literature. Thus, the Berber, Terence (2nd century B.C.) with his comic poetry; Horace, 1st century B.C., was a lyric and satiric poet; Virgil (1st century B. C.) and Ovid (1st century B. C./1st century A. D.) still dipped into Graeco-Roman mythology and hero-lays for their masterpieces; Livy (1st century B. C./1st century A. D.) did it more seriously through his hisotries. In this same zenith period there were magnificent buildings, mostly martial monuments, like the Colosseum, the Arch of Titus, the Forum, the Column of Trajan, the Arch of Septimius Severus, the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the Arch of Constantine etc. But temples were by no means neglected. The first imperial forum of Julius Caesar had the Temple of Venus at its centre.

(c) The Western Theo-Aristocratic ("Medieval") was permeated through and through with religiosity as a mere recital of personalities will indicate—saints like St. Columba, St. Augustine, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Francis of Assissi; scholastics like John Scotus, Erigena and St. Thomas Aquinas; reformers like Arnold of Brescia, Loyola and the Jesuits; and finally, after the 17th century, in the period of "Second Religiousness", mystics like Jacob Bohme, St. Theresa of Avila, St. John of the Cross, the Capuchins, Jimenez (Oratory of Divine Love) and St. Francis Xavier. And there

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

were plenty of monasteries—Benedictine, Cluniac, Cistercian etc. and friars—Franciscans, Dominicans etc. Hero lays gladdened the hearts of the people of Medieval Europe, along with religious books, in the earlier periods (5th-10th centuries A.D.)—Beowulf, the Lindisfarne Gospels, Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, the Book of Kells, Teutonic and Norse lays like those of the Nibelungenlied, the Eddas etc. After the 10th century there came high romances, troubadours and histories (the aristocratic element), as well as sophisticated works like those of Dante and Chaucer. "Medieval" Western art was suffused with religiosity, as is well-known—Gothic cathedrals, stained glass, polyphonic Church music. In addition we have the grim castles and fortresses of barons and princes.

(d) The story is repeated in Holy Russia. Moscow was the Third Rome and its Byzantine heritage gave its Christianity a deeply scholastic and dialectical bent. Even as late as the 19th century Uvarov stressed 'orthodoxy' along with autocracy and nationality. Here again in the early period, 13th-14th centuries, we find hero tales to be very popular, the *Zadonschina* and *Voinskaya povyesti* (war tales). Sophistication is provided by the Slavophils in 19th century literature—Khomyakov, Kireyevsky, Aksakov, the later Dostoevsky and the later Tolstoy. Russian "medieval" art was suffused with religiosity, as its many icons and cathedrals (like the well-known one of Vassili Blazhyeni in Moscow with its many-shaped domes) prove; and there was the grim fortress-palace, the Kremlin.

(e) We find the same pattern in Islamic Turkish society. The mystic egalitarianism of Haji Bektashi, and later of Saadi, Nizami, Jami and Jalal-ud-din Rumi informed the lives and activities of the Turkish warriors, the *ghazis*. The Turks had their hero tales like those of Kul Tigin and Bilge

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Kagan. Even when thoroughly Islamised, Arabicised and Persianised, the hero-lays continued, in the form of the Ottoman chronicles of authors like Ashik Pasha Zade. Sophistication is everywhere in the 17th-18th century Turkish poets, historians and biographers of the "Tulip Age". In architecture we have mosques like the Salimiyeh and Sulaimaniyeh and the Royal Palace of Istanbul (Constantinople)—the famous seraglio of Topkapi.

(f) The pattern is repeated in the Chinese Theo-Aristocratic. With the feudal Chou came the concept of *Tien Ming,* the Mandate of Heaven (for the ruler), and the old word *li* was given a new meaning—ordered social intercourse and hierarchic submission. Importance was given to *Shang Ti,* the Supreme Sky God, and old fertility deities (largely chthonic) were discarded. Early Chinese literature has largely disappeared, but from oral tradition and the *Shu* ("Documents"), later sophisticated editions of hero lays appeared. The most famous are Confucius' *Chun Chiu* or spring and Autumn Annals, and the Annals of Tso Chiu (or Tso Chiu Ming). Later there were the sophisticated histories of Ssu-ma Chien, Pan Ku and the woman historian, Pan Ch'ao. Chou art was full of religious significance—the ritual *li* bronze vessels, bells and sacred jades. The Han bas reliefs which have survived (for instance at Chia Hsiang Hsien and Hsiao Tang Shan) were in family tombs, and were secular—religious in the Old Egyptian sense.

(g) In Japan we have Shinto and Japanised Buddhism on the ideological side; hero lays in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi;* later on, literary sophistication and socio-psychological analyses in Lady Murasaki's *Tale of the Genji* and Lady Sei Shonagon's *Pillow Book* as well as in the travel diaries of Tsurayuki, and the *Tsure-dzure-gusa* (Grasses of Idleness) of Kenko. The religious motif in architecture is seen

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

in Shinto shrines, in Buddhist temples like the Horiyuji, Tenryuji, Todaiji etc. and in the great Budha images, the Daibutsu of Nara and Kamakura; while the military aspect is patently clear from grim buildings, the *buke dzukuri,* and the *shibui* (astringent), frowning castles of Osaka and Adzuchi.

(h) We find a similar pattern in the First Indian Theo-Aristocratic. There were originally, the hero cults of Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Nasatyas etc. in the *Rig Veda*; then came Pantheistic speculations (in the *Upanishads*) and the theories of *Karma* and *Maya*. This developed into the sophisticated Six Systems of Philosophy. A unique feature, not found in the other seven Theo-Aristocratic societies considered, is the absorption of a large number of "aborgines" in Stages 1 (Food-gathering) and 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturists) mainly, leading to syncretism, Pauranic Hinduism and the doctrine of *Avatara* and of the *Gita*. Finally came logomachy and mysticism—Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhava, the Nayanars and Alvars and the Tantric doctrines.

In "culture" we have the hero tales in the *Rig Veda,* mainly about Indra; and oral, bardic lays about kings and heroes, which later became, in the hands of Theocrats, the moralistic *Ramayana, Mahabharata* and the *Puranas,* the last being popular history-cum-mythology. Along with this went story-telling. The monumental buildings surviving are temples. But the Cyclopaean walls of Rajgir (*Raja-griha,* literally "King's House") and the foundations of the Mauryan Pataliputra Palace and Megasthenes' description of it indicates that in its heyday the palaces and fortresses of Old India must have been impressive indeed.

In all the examples chosen, from the "East" and the "West" there are great likenesses. Everywhere technological and scientific thinking is comparatively in the background, and in its place we have the extension of techniques and concepts, the legacies

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

of the Theo-Technocrats and the still earlier "Early Technologists" (Stage 4). There is a mixture of Theocratic charisma and credulity—exploitation, aristocratic force, peasant obedience, and ultimately the Soft Life for the upper classes in the economic field. Everywhere society is class divided, justice is class based, and woman is held to be inferior and subsidiary to man. In the field of politics there is warrior achievement, "feudal" relationships, both integration and rivalry with the priestly classes, and ultimately too much of aristocratic warfare and feudal insubordination, leading to breakdowns. In the sphere of ideology and "culture" there is the importance of religious concepts, hero lays in the earlier stages, much literary sophistication later ("the Classics"), and suffusion of the arts and architecture with the religious and martial spirits. These similarities cut across region and nation and over-ride differences of skin-colour, language, dress, food etc.

But the 'Theo' element, as between various Theo-Aristocratic religions, is a great divider. The Greek and Roman religions were of simple derivation; in West Europe and Russia the old hero-religions and fertility cults were swamped by Christianity, originally a religion of the poor, and so democratic; Turkey was similarly situated, the original Turkish paganism being substituted by a sophisticated Islam, which had its birth in Arabian mercantile society; the Chinese warrior-nomadic religion had a backdrop of the Theocratic; in Japan, the situation was in-between that of West Europe and Turkey, the old Shinto being nearly swamped by a sophisticated Buddhism, originally a rational product of mercantile India; and in India the warrior hero-cults were sandwiched between earlier Theocratic concepts and the notions of Food-gathering tribes and Matrifocal peoples, of different origins and traditions, into a complex and com-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

plicated syncretism. These differing faiths, with their differing backgrounds, coloured the Theo-Aristocratic societies, basically the same, differently; and this difference was the cause for rivalries and disputes between the elites when societies encountered and collided with each other.

The general proposition, that societies in the same Stage of Civilization have similar Values and Institutions is, however, seen to be true.

Comparison of the Basic Attitudes/Values of the First Indian Theo-Aristocratic with those of the Scientific-Democratic Stage (Stage 10).

In the next section we will consider the significant legacies of the First Indian Theo-Aristocratic, largely with reference to their relevance to the world-wide Scientific-Democratic Civilization. It is assumed, of course, that we want to go to the Scientific-Democratic Stage even if we have any option not to do so. This aspect is dealt with further in Chapters 34 and 35. It is also assumed that stages can be jumped, which is so, and regarding which illustrations have been given in Chapter 4. The tabulation below, comparing the Basic Attitudes/Values of the First Indian Theo-Aristocratic with those of the Scientific Democratic would, therefore, be a reference point. The Scientific-Democratic tradition is still a growing one, and not final. For the Indian Theo-Aristocratic the Basic Attitudes/Values in their final form are taken. As the warriors or *Kshatriyas* had killed each other off there was Theocratisation. This is taken into account in the tabulation, specially against the heads "Thinking", "Teachers", pertaining mainly to the Theocrats. As the elite classes were small in number (about 10%), of ultimate foreign origin and initially of different looks from the *deshajas,* who had to be admitted entry into the Aryo-Indian society, their values were modified by those of the latter (stage 1). Finally, the "West" imposed certain values because of nearly 200 years of British rulership. All these modifications are indicated in the tabulation.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Basic Attitudes	*First Indian Theo-Aristocratic*	*Scientific Democratic*
1. *Science and Technology*	Extension of ideas, of techniques, rather than of continuous series of	Experimentation and innovation as Way of Life. Marriage between "Natural Philosophy"
(i) Thinking	inventions and innovations.	(originating in
(ii) Teachers	*Theocratic reversions* Knowledge and understanding held to be a gift of the deities. Mono-poly of knowledge by priestly groups. Suppression of new ideas and of free thought. Hence as in case of Theocrats everywhere, adoption of techniques of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. Scholasticism and rote learning. Leaning on teachers — *guruvada*. Theocrat "knows all", is arrogant.	stage 9—Rational-Mercantile) and technics (Stage 4 —Early Technology). Technicalisation of society—Industrial Revolution. The "scientist", a new category of human beings, humble before Nature and facts. He assumes he knows nothing — continuous quest for facts and generalisations.
2. *Economics*		
(iii) Working	*Zamindar* and *village* priest set tone — force and theocratic charisma and peasant obedience. Soft and Easy Life for the elite, leading to corruption and weakness. Trade,	—Factories. —Factory Management. —Management Science. —Management —labour conflicts/ Trade Unions/ Collective Bargaining Regula-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

	internal and external, marginal; largely for urban areas and the elite. Subsistence economy for the commonalty. Modified by Scientific-Democratic society, super-impositions.	tion of the economy. Factory legislation / welfare measures. All linked to Science and Technology.
3. *Family and Society*	Class divisions (Caste in India, based on Stage 1 notions of pollution).	Towards complete social democracy and a classless society. Unisex and abolition of all sexual discrimination as goals. "Nuclear" or husband-wife-children families. "Love" marriages (i.e. Romantic Marriages).
(iv) Relations with Fellow Men	*Homo Hierarchicus Dadagiri* ("Big *Brother*") cult.	
(v) Hierarchy	Within castes, democracy.	
(vi) Man and Woman	Woman held to be inferior to man, imperfect man to service her lord and husband, please him, bear and rear his children. "Extended" or "joint family". Social or arranged marriages.	
4. *Politics / Administration/ Military Affairs*	Caste as effective and *de facto* political unit. Absolutism. Vote-gathering by Theocratic credulity - exploitation. No real delegation in ad-	'Nation' as political unit. Political democracy. Beginnings of 'one world' political feeling. Longing for world-peace. Regional economic associa-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(vii) Duty sense	ministration. Amongst fighting	tions. Equality before law largely a
(viii) Fighting spirit	groups the Gunther-Hagen mentality of loyalty (Sanskrit — *rita*;	fact because of widespread literacy and affluence.
(ix) In-group/ Out-group feeling	Iranian — *arta*). Among others substitution of non-violent psychological	
(x) Justice	pressures instead of force. Consequently, greater use of guile and duplicity. These groups also Pacifists (Stage 1 inheritance). Justice class divided, on which superimposed Rational Mercantile ("Bourgeois") idea of equality of all before law.	
5. *Ideology*	Revelation as source of knowledge.	Revealed religion suppressed to the
(xi) Epistemology	Logic used to justify revelation, its main function.	sub-conscious. Knowledge and wisdom on materialistic, sense ba-
(xii) Metaphysics	Concepts of Heaven and Hell. Idea of Psychic Energy pervading the Uni-	sis. Darwinism/ Social Darwinism. Materialism. Libe-
(xiii) Theology/Eschatology	verse — etherealisation of Stage 1 (Food Gatherers) idea — Pantheistic Vedantism. Code Ethics for different	ral Humanism. Revolutionary Humanism (Marxism). Agnosticism/Atheism. Existentialism. Grop-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(xiv) Ethics	classes as part of revealed religion. Syncretism of faiths and concepts of different stages of civilisation. Theocrats as intermediaries between God and Man.	ings for a new Philosophy of Life.
6. *Culture* (xv) Gregariousness	Gregariousness within castes only.	Cosmopolitanism/ Unisex
(xvi) Eating and drinking	Food and drink taboos going back to Stage 1 (Food-gatherers) period. Ideas of pollution.	Universalism
(xvii) Attitude to fine arts literature etc.	Art, literature etc. suffused with religion.	Democracy/Feminism/Romanticism/Socio-Psychological Ana-/lysis/Realo-Idealism/Radicalism/ Surrealism.
(xviii) Attitude to the Past.	Extreme conservatism about the past.	Scientific Analysis of the Past. Debunking. Also the categories immediately listed above.

Relevance of Significant Legacies

General: The relevance of the significant legacies will be judged against either or both of two criteria given below, whichever may be applicable:

(i) internal inconsistency; if something is internally inconsistent it is untrue, and therefore, not acceptable;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(ii) compatibility or incompatibility *vis-a-vis* Scientific-Democratic Values, as given in the above tabulation; it is assumed here that we desire to get into the Scientific-Democratic Stage; and it has been seen that different Stages have different Values and that in each Stage all Values are interlinked.

So far as inconsistencies go, they must have been pointed out, but in a Theocratic milieu one is not to ask inconvenient questions which embarrass the *guru;* if one does, there is fear of his head "falling off", as Yajnavalkya said to Gargi Vachaknavi (in the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*) when she asked too many questions—although he may have spoken in jest, and with condescension, to a female philosopher who had, he must have thought, a "swelled head".

1. *Karma*: The doctrine of *Karma* (literally "action"), or transmigration of souls, is not known in the Rig Veda. The spirit there, after death, goes to another world, the realm of Yama, and of the fathers (*Pitriloka*).[97] Bui in the Panchala (modern Rohilkhand) area, a new doctrine developed—that of reincarnation. Food-gatherers and hunters all over the world believe that all animals killed in hunting are reincarnated, provided certain customs are observed.[98] The Kshatriya kings undoubtedly got such ideas from the Adivasi hunters, and in the mind of one of them, Pravahana Jaibali, of the Panchalas, the idea of *Karma* was born, perhaps in the 8th century B. C. or thereabouts. It is described in the Third *Khanda* of the fifth *prapathaka* of the *Chandogya Upanishad,* in the conversation between Pravahana Jaibali and Shvetaketu Aruneya. The main teaching is: "Those who do good works here, they are reborn as Brahmans, Kshatriyas or Vaishyas. Those who do bad work are born as dogs, swines or Untouchables (*chandalas*). Some are born as flies, worms, insects etc. Thus the other world is not filled up.[99]

   The importance of this teaching cannot be minimised. It apparently spread like wildfire, and gave a satisfactory explanation to good men as well as to merciless exploiters and their victims as to why there is

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

such gross inequality, injustice and cruelty in the world. It also gave hope that if one behaved properly in this world, according to *dharma,* or the norms of conduct for the *jati* in question, then in the next birth one would reap high benefits. Yajnavalkya also discussed with Jaratkarava Artabhaga the same doctrine of *Karma*[100]—it was in the air, and not a flash in the pan. Soon it became standard doctrine and permeated the whole of Indian society, as it does Hindu India even today. We must not think that the originators of the *Karma* doctrine were wicked men, and that they hit upon an ideological device to enslave mentally the exploited *jatis,* although its implications must have been clear to them. They were people of Consciousness VII (Theo-Aristocratic) and not Consciousness X (Scientific-Democratic). Class distinctions, *jati* distinctions, were natural to them. The *Karma* doctrine was a brilliant piece of speculation, which both explained present harshness between man and man, and gave hopes for the future.

The theory is internally inconsistent. How did inequality begin? Were people differently endowed, for goodness and badness, right from the beginning? If so, it was partiality on the part of the Deity, which is inconceivable. If not, how did difference in behaviour, and consequent inequality arise? Can it be said that only the first generation of human beings had complete Free Will, which was denied thereafter? This is an illogical situation.

Also, if *Karma* is true, those born well should be intrinsically better men than the "low-born". But we know from experience that good and bad behaviour are distributed among all classes, and it is not that the "upper" classes are good and the "lower" classes wicked.

From the angle of Scientific-Democratic Man where is the proof for *Karma?* The likelihood that behaviour is partly determined by the internal hormone balance, and the certainty that the environment has a lot to do with it, constrict the Free Will implied in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the *Karma* theory. Man, then is not wholly responsible for his actions.

Does *Karma* apply only to poor and undeveloped countries like India? If not, why are rich nations prospering? Are they, then, better persons than Indians? And how is it that *Karma* changes for the better if an Indian goes abroad to a rich country and finds a good job? Also, how can *Karma* be squared with the increasing population of living things in the world?

No, Pravakana Jaibali, and countless generations of preachers thereafter—your theory will not hold water and is an erroneous one.

2. *Upanishads*: In the *Rig-Veda* in the Creation Hymn, doubts were expressed as to who created the world. This had a practical import—to which god should sacrifices and oblations be offered? In the succeeding phase, possibly 8th-7th century B.C., a group of elderly and learned Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and some educated ladies (like Gargi Vachaknavi, Maitreyi etc.), in the Gangetic Valley, speculated on higher, purely philosophical things. Many kings like Ashvapati of Kekaya, Pravahana Jaibali of the Panchalas, Janaka ("Father", a title) of Videha, Ajatashatru of Kashi (Varanasi), held marathon seminars for philosophical discussions. Groups of Brahmans also pondered on the higher meaning of life and death. Their ideas are to be found in the Upanishads (Upa + ni + sad—literally "come, sit near me", i.e. esoteric doctrines). There were over 200 of these Upanishads, but apparently only 108 are known, out of which 13 are really important.

Some of the Upanishadic names are queer for philosophic works. Thus, *Kaushitaki* means pertaining to the owl; *Taittiriya,* partridge; *Shvetashvatara,* white mule; *Mandukya,* frog. Obviously the teaching in these books (still in oral form) go back to Adivasi Food-Gathering and Hunting Stages. The Food-Gatherers and Hunters, all over the world, believe in Psychic or Spiritual Energy pervading the entire universe. It is the Melanesian *mana,* the Sioux *wakanda,*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the Iroquois *orenda,* the Algonquin *manitowi,*[101] the Tilo of the Tsonga, the Inkosi of the Zulus etc.[102] It was this which became the Indian *Brahman* and the Chinese *Tao.* The Food-Gatherers also believe in a Supreme Being that cannot be perceived by the senses; He cannot be seen; but He can be heard and felt. He is like the wind which cannot be grasped. He is like the sky—but without shape. The Food Gatherers carve no image of Him nor paint Him.[103] Neither do some of the Hunters after them, like the Zulus with their Unkulu-Unkulu.[104] He is "He that is above", "He that lives above," "The Primeval", "The Great Spirit".[103] Such Adivasi ideas were transmuted into passional, pantheistic poetry by the Aryo-Indians in the Upanishads. Shandilya puts the central teaching well when he says: "All things indeed is Brahman, all things have been born from Him, exist in Him and return into Him."[105] Uddalaka Aruni taught similarly, identifying the individual soul with Ultimate Reality—*Tat tvam asi* ("Thou art That").[106] Uddalaka's *anima* (smallest/unseen) and Sanatkumara's *bhuma* are both parts of the Ultimate Reality. Yajnavalkya describes the Ultimate Reality to the learned lady, Gargi Vachaknavi, in negative terms—*neti, neti* —"He is not this, He is not that."[107]

Some consequences follow from this concept. The *Ishopanishad* (verse 6) says: "whoever sees all things in God, and God in all things, does not hate anyone nor keep himself separate from anyone."

The individual Soul, it follows from the new concept, is indestructible. This thesis is put forward brilliantly in the dialogue between Yama and Nachiketa as contained in the *Kathopanishad.* The American Transcendentalist, Ralph Waldo Emerson almost renders the original word for word when he says in his poem, *Brahma*—

If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain thinks he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways,
I keep, and pass, and turn again.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Knowledge of the individual soul, or *atman* (which is the same as *Brahman*), cannot be obtained from instruction, nor through the intellect, nor from discussions—

Nayamatma pravachanena labhya,
Na medhaya na bahuna shrutena.[108]

It can be obtained only be the tranquil and self-controlled mind. So everyone should strive—

Uttishthata jagrata prapya varan-nivodhata,
Kshurasya dhara nischita duratyaya
Durgampathastat kavaye vadanti.[109]

"Awake, arise, and stop not till the desired boon is obtained. The path is sharp, like the razor's edge, and difficult to traverse, as the poet-seers say."

Control methods—physical and spiritual *yoga*—were subsequently developed. The highest bliss is in the union of the Atman with the Brahman, a state of *samadhi* or spiritual trance.

In the *Taittiriya Upanishad* Varuna tells his son, *Bhrigu,* that God is Ananda or Eternal Bliss or Love (*Bhargavi-Varuni vidya*). This God has to be obtained, apart from spiritual exercises and meditation, by constant devotion and prayer, thus—

Asado ma sad gamaya
Tamaso ma jyotir gamaya
Mrityor ma amritam gamaya.[110]

From the Unreal lead me to the Real!
From Darkness lead me to Light!
From Death lead me to immortality!

Pantheism does not solve the problem of Good and Evil. In fact, it does not even touch upon it. Only Zarathustra in his God-Satan Dualism has really grappled with it. Implied in Zarathustra's teachings is the constriction of God.

In the original pantheism of primitive peoples *mana* can be manipulated. This cannot be done by causal or mechanistic methods, but only by magic, and by people who know this magic. It is probably in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

this way that the fire-priest (*Atharvan*) of the Aryo-Indians became the Brahman, the manipulator of Brahman, Psychic Energy Pool, by *mantras* (secret chants pronounced clearly—it is the sequence of sounds which then affects *Brahman*). Such ideas are obviously out of tune with Scientific Thinking. But the Psychic Energy Pool concept is not. Teilhard de Chardin, for instance, believes in it and calls it the Noosphere in *The Phenomenon of Man.* In the form developed in India theorisations about it constitute the *Vedanta*—the end of the Vedas. Professor Ninian Smart has high hopes for it. He says: "It can offer to the world a unique synthesis, shaped through thousands of years of living history, which can pave the way for religious reunion."[111]

However, much of the Upanishads are inconsistent with Consciousness X (Scientific). Thus :— Goats are a *Hinkara* (Preliminary vocalising); Sheep are an *Prastava* (Introductory Praise) ; Cows are an *Udgitha* (Loud Chant); Horses are a *Pratihara* (Response); Man is a *Nidhana* (Conclusion) ; (*Chandogya* II.2.18).

3. *Maya*: In the *Shvetashvatara* Upanishad we come across the concept of Maya or Cosmic Illusion, with the help of which Brahman creates the Universe. But not much attention was paid to it during the centuries of development and expansion of the Aryo-Indians. Shankara in the 8th century A.D. developed this *Maya* doctrine. He held that there are two planes of cognition, borrowing from the 2nd century Buddhist logician and philosopher, Nagarjuna. On the every day level the world is real enough, created by Brahma, having the three *gunas* (*Sattva, rajas* and *tamas*—virtue, passion and dullness) and passing through an evolutionary process as taught by *Sankhya* philosophy. But at the highest cognition level the whole phenomenal universe, including the gods, is unreal. Everything is *Maya,* illusion, a dream, a mirage. The only reality is *Brahman,* the World Soul of the Upanishads, with which the individual soul or *atman* is identical. Salvation

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(*mukti* or *moksha*) can be obtained by realising this truth. Shankara was a tireless preacher and organiser, and in the Stability Milieu of his times he won all-round support. There is no doubt that the *Maya* doctrine, like the analogous Buddhist doctrine of *Shunyata* (void), lulled intellectuals into passivism and quietism.

Shankara connects *Maya* with Sankhya philosophy, which may well have been a philosophy of the Indusian Theocrats in its Late Stage (cf. Chapter 13). The concept of *Maya* was, therefore, very likely an Indusian one, which helped to keep down the coolies in East Town. Like *Karma* it is internally inconsistent. For, understanding gained from sense perception is used to deny that the World of Senses is real. It is wholly repugnant to Scientific Man, whose whole thought-system and achievements are built upon the Reality of the Seen World. Vestiges of *Maya* undoubtedly survive in the Indian intellectual climate. If we are to participate fully in the Scientific Stage the doctrine of Maya has to be given up lock, stock and barrel. Only then will we really pay attention to science and scientific activities.

4. *Gita*: Like the *Mahabharata* the *Gita* also must have taken final shape in the post-Mauryan Time of Troubles. We are concerned in this section with its basic teachings—Duty, Non-Attachment, Devotion (*Bhakti*), Divine Shriving of all sins and the Nature of the Deity (*Vishwarupa* or World Form).

The concept of duty is best symbolised by the following verse, where Krishna Vasudeva exhorts Arjuna, a Kshatriya, to kill his relatives in a righteous war—

Shreyan svadharmo vigunah paradharmat
svanush thitat
Svadharme Nidhanam shreyah paradharmo
bhayavaha.

(*Bhagavad Gita* III.35)

which means—"It is better to follow one's own *dharma*, righteously established, even with all its blemishes, than the *dharma* of others even when it is more attrac-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

tive; it is better to die doing one's own *dharma,* the *dharma* of others is terrible to follow."

This must be read with the line from Verse 13, Chapter 4—

Chaturvarna maya shrishtam
guna-karma-vibhagashah

This means—The four-fold caste system was created by Me, by differentiating people according to their *guna* and *karma.*

Dharma means the Norms of Action and Conduct; *Guna,* the three qualities of *Sattva, rajas* and *tamas* —virtue, passion and dullness; *Karma*—the effect of good and bad deeds in previous lives. It is very clear that Krishna Vasudeva is defending the established order and the *varna-jati* society. Any form of exegesis to prove it otherwise would be doing grave injustice to the stanzas cited.

The doctrine of Non-Attachment is best exemplified by the following oft-quoted verse:—

Karmanyevadhikaraste ma phaleshu kadachan,
Ma karmaphalaheturbhurmah te sangohastwa-karmani
(*Bhagavad Gita* II.47)

"You have the right only to duty, to your *karma,* not to its fruits, do not hanker after the effects of your *karma* lest you get entangled in it. And, do not desert your *karma,* your duty."

This is a most dangerous doctrine. It means—act like a cog in the wheel, do not try to take a perspective view. Such an outlook no doubt makes things easy, specially for those doing unpleasant tasks. But as the architect-philosopher, R. Buckminster Fuller says, man is unspecialized by nature. Acting like a cog means specialized thinking, and working. This precludes comprehensive thinking and may lead to social irresponsibility. The Non-Attachment Doctrine can work only within the confines of a Stable *Varna-Jati* Social System. When this system was attacked by the Turks there was not that flexibility which earlier Indians had, because of the Cog-in-the-Wheel Doctrine, and India fell. The Cog-in-the-Wheel

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Doctrine is unsuited to the Scientific-Democratic Stage with widespread popular education, peoples' rights, and peoples' choice by voting.

The Doctrine of Devotion can be exemplified in two verses. One says—

Patram pushpam phalam toyam yo me bhaktya
prayacchati,
Yadaham bhaktyu papritam-ashmani
prayatatmanah.
(*Bhagavad Gita* IX.26)

"Whosoever offers me with devotion a leaf, a flower, a fruit, water, I take such offerings of the desireless giver, made with *bhakti* (devotion)."

This is Buddhist in its simplicity, contrasting with, in those days, the costly and elaborate offering and rites of the *yajnas*. In other "Higher Religions" offerings have been done away with, and substituted by prayer alone, which note is also struck in the *Gita*. For instance—

Samohaham sarvabhuteshu na me dveshyohasti
na priych,
Ye bhajanti tu mam bhakktya mayi te cheshu
chapyaham.
(*Bhagavad Gita* IX.29)

"I am in all beings, there is no favourite or non-favourite to me. But those who pray to me with devotion (*bhakti*), they are in me, and I in them."

This is also the spirit of the *Nayanars* and the *Alvars* and not contradictory to the Values of the Scientific-Democratic Stage.

The verse about the Divine Shriving of Sins is almost at the end of the *Gita* (XVIII.66). It says:

Sarvadharman parityajya
mam ekam sharanam vraja
aham tva sarvapapebhyo
mokshayisyami ma shuchah.

"Leave all *dharma,* take refuge in me alone, I shall shrive you of all sins, grieve not."

This is when Conscience conflicts with the Sense of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Duty. This is somewhat inconsistent with the injunction to always do one's duty without a sense of attachment. Although noble in wording, the verse preaches blind passivism and so is against the spirit of the Scientific-Democratic Stage.

When Krishna Vasudeva gives Arjuna a vision of the "Universal Form", *Vishwarupa,* the latter sees him ".....with manifold arms, stomachs, mouths, and eyes....." (XI.16). The Scientific Man finds this strange, but it is only the final development of Indusian syncretism; "the whole universe resting in one, with its manifold divisions" (XI.13) is now seen. In other words it is the whole of Nature to Hindu Theo-Aristocratic Man (Stage 7) because of the syncretistic development in India—which will be detailed in the next section. But Scientific Man, Stage 10 Man, in his religious moods, desires to see the Deity as a Transcendent Being, separate from creation. Or, like Teilhard de Chardin, he wants a vision of the Noosphere, which is the same as the Psychic Energy Pool. The following stanza will undoubtedly satisfy them:

Divi Suryasahasrasya
Bhaved yugapad utthita
yadi bhah sadrishi sa syad
bhasas tasya mahatmanah.
(*Gita* XI. 12)

"If the light of a thousand suns were to blaze forth all at once in the sky, that might resemble the splendour of that exhalted Being." (Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's translation).

Thus, there is much nobility in the *Gita.* In the west the Bible has been subject to "Higher Criticism" for over 200 years and many parts have "withered away", that is to say nobody seriously believes them. For instance, the Story of Adam and Eve. Also, in these days of Space Travel the concepts of Heaven above the skies, of Hell below the earth, angels, devils etc. have completely "withered away". Similar critical analyses of the *Gita* (as of the *Upanishads*) will

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

ensure that parts inconsistent with the spirit and understanding of Scientific Man will "wither away".

5. *Syncretism*: There is a magnificent work on Hindu syncretism, which began taking place after the post-Mauryan Time of Troubles (Sukumari Bhattacharji's *The Indian Theogomy* Cambridge, 1970). The treatment here owes much to her book. She groups the absorptions round two deities—Shiva and Vishnu, and lumps Shakti, the Mother-Goddess, with Shiva. But it is clear that Shakti has to be given an independent status, for the reasons which will be mentioned below.

The original Shiva was a phallic deity of the North-West, the matrilineal culture *shisnadeva* so much hated and despised by the patriarchal Aryans. One of Shiva's names was Munda and his head was shaved, as the Greeks found him. The Adivasi Mundas also shaved their heads, and so Shiva must have started as a North-Western Munda deity. He absorbed the once obscure Vedic Rudra and "native" hunting and fertility deities. Shiva is always associated with fertility symbols, like the bull on which he rides, and snakes, which he entwines around his neck and arms. He also absorbed Varuna, Yama and the warrior Kartikeya cults, Murugan or Subrahmanya in the South. The popular Ganesha or Ganapati cult also came to be attached to the Shaivites. Philosophically, he became Time, the Destroyer—*Mahakala*. The Dancing Shiva, or *Nataraja*, of Southern provenance, undoubtedly grew out of the wild, ritualistic, orgiastic dances of the primitive fertility cults of Tamilaham. Quite a different form, also of Southern origin, and apparently owing much to Buddhist inspiration, is the gentle teacher, *Dakshinamurti* ("South-facing").

Because of the fertility aspect Shakti became linked with Shiva, as his wife, as Durga, Parvati, Sati etc. But to her followers Shakti is supreme, the *Adya Shakti* ("Original Female Energy"), the *prima dea* of Apuleius, the source of everything. All types of mother goddesses became merged in her, of which a few illustrations are given from her many names—Durga

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

("Inaccessible"), Kali ("The Black One"), Chandi ("the Fierce"), Parvati ("Daughter of the Mountains"), Mahadevi ("the Great Goddess"), Gauri ("the Fair One"), Sati ("the Virtuous"), Annapurna ("the Bestower of Food") etc. Her symbol was not only the cow, but all the symbols of the mother-goddesses of West Asia, with which area we have had fairly intimate relations long before Islam, symbols like the lion of Kybele, to give an illustration, for Durga is also *Simhavahini* ("She who rides a lion"). There was an Aphrodite element in the Indian mother-goddess too, as there was in Ishtar, in her form as Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu Narayana. They have a son, Kama or Madana, the counterpart of Cupid, the god of love.

The third deity, Vishnu, is a minor god in the *Rig Veda,* where there are only five hymns to him. He is a usurper of demon wealth by fraud, guile, disguise, magic power. But gradually he takes over some of the attributes of mighty Indra, for whom a tear has to be shed. In the *Vedas* his valour and heroism is tremendous; but in *Upanishadic* times he triumphs only through the help of Brahmans and their sacrifices; now in the third phase he is like a later Lucknow nawab as compared to the Moghul conqueror Babar. Ravana defeats him. When Nahusha snatches his heavenly throne from him and demands his wife he hides in a pond. Thus the Brahmans have their revenge on Indra in their literature, though the memory of the multitudes of Aryan kings who oppressed them survives in the imagery of Indra as *Sahasranana* ("of a thousand faces"), dynamic, of volcanic energy. And now Vishnu-Krishna (as he became) usurped his functions and attributes—

Indra	*Vishnu-Krishna*
Slaying "demons"	Slaying miscreants
Soma (drink)	*Amrita* (nectar)
Vajra (weapon)	*Sudarshan Chakra* (disc)
Wife Sachi	Wife/Sri Lakshmi

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Philandering	Krishna and the *gopis* (cow-herdesses)
Assuming forms of all things (RV. VI. 47.18)	*Vishwarupa* (Gita XI)

Narayana, his helper, became absorbed in him. Vishnu gathered power and prestige by absorbing to himself Krishna, a demon in the *Rig-Veda*, whom Indra slew (R.V. VIII 85.13-15). This Krishna became one, in the Brahmanic syncretism, with the philosopher Krishna Vasudeva ("Vasudeva the Dark"), the Yadava nobleman and diplomat-statesman of the Mahabharata age; and with the brave, crafty, generous and amorous Krishna, the hero of the stock-breeding Abhiras, who spread themselves in the erstwhile Yadava country, the Krishna who was also *Govinda* ("obtainer of cattle"), who lived in *Goloka* ("world of cattle"), and sported with Radha and the *gopis* (cow-herdesses). This Vishnu-Krishna absorbed the solar cult (along with the *gayatri* chant), the Ashvins etc.

These major deities absorbed between them, all vegetable and animal totemistic cults. There was initially rivalry between Vishnu-Krishna and Shiva (cf. *Hari Vamsa* II.125/III.88), a continuation of the old Indra-Shiva enmity in a milder form, but the tolerant Hindus ultimately merged them as Hari-Hara. There is also rivalry and verbal sex-war between Shiva and Shakti, but they also have a merged aspect—*Ardhanarishwara* ("The God who is Half-Female").

All these three sects were attached to "higher philosophies". Thus, Shiva was associated with *tapas*, austerities and Yoga; Shakti was *Prakriti* (Nature) of the Sankhya; and in Krishna-Vishnu was epitomised the difficult teachings of the Upanishads and the Vedanta in the *Gita* doctrines of duty, non-attachment, personal devotion to a deity (*bhakti*) etc. Krishna-Vishnu had incarnations, which in a sense Shakti also had, but not Shiva. The followers of all the three cults equally partook of the new type of religious experience—temples, images, personal attachment to one deity (*ishta-devata*), *bhakti*, gorgeous rituals, music, dance, ecstatic experience. This is Pauranic Hinduism, with the three cults becoming three sects. Although the word

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

"Hindu" ("of the Sindhu or Indus River") was popularised by the Arabs in the 8th century A.D., it is from Gupta times that the present-day syncretistic Hinduism can be recognised, as contrasted with the aniconic, Vedic *yajna* religion of the earlier Aryo-Indians.

Syncretism is not a feature specific to India. It was there in other countries, for instance, Greece and in Egypt. In Egypt also there was a combination of deities, not only between human and human, but also between animal and human (like our Narasimha). Thus Amon was associated wtih the goose or ram, Ra with the grasshopper or bull, Osiris with the bull or ram, Sebek with the crocodile, Horus with the hawk or falcon, Hathor with the cow, Thoth with the baboon etc. Amon-Ra later became combined, as were Re-Harakhte, Isis-Hathor, Osiris-Apis (Serapis) etc. The point is that syncretism is not a specifically Indian feature. *Like situations lead to like solutions all over the world.*

Pauranic Hinduism, as has been stated earlier, is expounded in the *Puranas* (18 of them), with fantastic tales of cosmology, genealogy, history, stories, legends, religious lore and instructions. The *Puranas* are mythopoeic, they explain everything through myths, by their oceans of milk and treacle, their huge snake Vasuki holding up the earth etc. Mythopoeia has long been given up in the rest of the world and is inconsistent with the Scientific Spirit. A man cannot be a nuclear physicist, for instance, and still be a believer in Pauranic Hinduism. Even if in his mind it has withered away, no man is an island to himself. He lives in society, needs the approbation and understanding of his fellow men, in work as well as at home and among his circles. This is not possible in a Pauranic-Hinduism milieu, an amalgam of Food-Gathering, Hunting, Agriculturist, Warrior Nomadic, and Theocratic beliefs and practices, wrapped up in mythopoeia. Hence, the environment for scientific and technological achievement is lacking in India. The mythopoeia of the Puranas is so all-embracing that if the myths "wither away" nothing would be left of Pauranic Hinduism. So, if India is to be a full participant in the Scientific-Democratic stage, Pauranic Hinduism, along with its idols and superstitions and myths as living rea-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

lities must ultimaeely be given up, as the country gets more and more literate and educated, and some form of Vedantic Hinduism or Buddhism should take its place in a conscious, purposive and directed manner. The matter is further dealt with in Chapter 30.

6. *Avatara* (Incarnation of God) Doctrine.

The basis for the *avatara* doctrine is found in the *Gita* (IV. 7-8), where Krishna Vasudeva says to Arjuna:

> Yada yada hi dharmasya glanir—bhavati Bharata,
> Abhyutthna dharmasya tadatmanam srijamyaham
> Paritranaya sadhunam vinashaya cha duskritam
> Dharma samsthapan arthaya sambhavami yuge yuge.
>
> "Whenever *dharma* is on the decline, Bharata, and evil rears its head, then I myself take human shape. To help the righteous and destroy miscreants, to re-establish *dharma* I appear era after era."

What is this *dharma?* It is obviously the *varna-jati dharma,* the Norm of the Righteous Society. The time of the composition cannot but be the post-Mauryan Time of Troubles, when the ever-victorious East Aryans were, for the first time, tasting the bitter fruits of defeat and humiliation at the hands of the Greeks, Shakas etc. They were to be defeated again and again later, without any such agonising response, but the first defeat produced this defiant message of hope, an original one even if some traces of the Egyptian Messiah (or Saviour) idea *via* the Zoroastrian Saoshyant, and Buddhist Bodhisattva conception are traceable in the prediction of the tenth *avatara,* or incarnation, of the future, Kalkin, the Man with the White Horse (who would be quite ineffective against the tank!).

The Messiah idea is a universal phenomenon. It appears in the Western Middle Ages, in Islamic society, in China (for instance the Taiping Rebellion), in the "cargo cults" of Melanesa etc. There is a comparative study on this subject, edited by Professor Sylvia Thrupp (*Millenial Dreams in Action, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Supplement II,* The Hague, 1962).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Mahatma Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, Bhimji Rao Ambedkar are regarded by many in India as Messiahs.

The *avatara* idea is different from the Messiah one in that the *avatara* is God in human form, while the Messiah is only a man, a great man, but still a man. In present-day India (1976), the *avatara* idea may not be strong among the 30% literate people. But it is so among the 70% illiterate, as Stephen Fuchs' study *Rebellious Prophets* (Bombay, 1965) shows. For instance, Nanu Asan of the Ezhavas of Kerala, who became the great social reformer, Narayana Guru, was regarded as an *avatara,* to cite an example.

In the explosive and troublous times which we will face in India for about a hundred years, the likely linking of the *avatara* idea with dreams of social and political advancement has dangerous implications. The two are incompatible. The former is a Theocratic Messiah idea, the latter a Scientific-Democratic Stage concept. The former is regressive, the latter progressive. The former leaves all thinking and doing to a god-saviour, the latter implies that we gird our loins and work out our Destiny ourselves. Hence the *avatara* conception is one which must be combated by all progressive peoople.

7. *Bhakti* (Devotion religions). We have come across *Bhakti* earlier in this chapter—how it originated and how it developed in South India. It arose in a milieu where the loosening of feudal bonds through trade revival gave it an anti-Establishment economic support. From thence it spread to the North later, in the "Middle Ages", as we shall see later. *Bhakti* is consistent with Democracy, as it is against caste. A fervid emotional surrender to the Deity is not inconsistent with Science although such devotion to idols is. Abstract Vedantic concepts were allied with *Bhakti* in near-monotheistic beliefs, for instance, the Shiva of Shankara, the Vishnu of Ramanuja. But the syncretistic temples and idols proved stronger.

Bhakti has more or less failed everywhere in India, except in two cases. Elsewhere caste reigns supreme.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

It succeeded among the Jats and other egalitarian, military people of the Punjab, specially after Guru Govind Singh militarised the *Bhakti* concepts of Guru Nanak. The other instance, of partial success, is Maharashtra. The Marathas are a martial people who have to be treated with respect. Among themselves they are egalitarian, and the Brahman is economically not much richer than a Maratha, although both look down upon the Untouchable Mahar. Says O.H.K. Spate about the Maratha-Brahman complex—"The entire region bears the imprint of the Marathas : a tough, hard-working and cheerful peasantry, ably served by an adroit Brahman elite which maintained close touch with the people".[112] Here *Bhakti* throve, specially after Guru Ramdas made it militant, and the cymbals were exchanged for the sword.

So, *Bhakti* can thrive only where there is a good deal of social and economic equality.

8. *Tantra.* We have seen in Chapter 7, relating to the Stage of Matrifocal Agriculture, that fertility rites constituted the hallmark of its religious ideology. The Indusians linked it with *yoga* and sexo-psychological practices came into existence, which continued in later times as the *Agama* tradition (Chapter 13). The Warrior Nomads, the Aryans, hated these rites, to *Shisnadevah* —the phallus. Their hybridized successors, the Aryo-Indians, inherited their distaste. Hence, fertility rites were practised only by those "Outside the Pale" and were not recognised in Aryo-Indian society. In the Age of Syncretism some of these surfaced up with the Cult of Shakti, specially in New Ground areas like Kashmir, Nepal, Bengal etc. and it was also prevalent in early Tamilaham, as is still clear from the superior position of Meenakshi vis-a-vis her husband in the great temple at Madurai. But extreme manifestations of the *Tantra* were still frowned upon, even after syncretism had taken place, and so had to be practised in secret, in remote places, as in Konarak and the date grove temples of Khajuraho by the rulers, and by common people of the Aryo-Indian tradition in lonely retreats and in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

houses of individuals.

The *Tantras* are inconsistent with Scientific ideas. The idea of the human artery, through which psychic energy, in the form of semen, travels from the nether part of the body to the head, its main doctrine, (as we have seen earlier in the reference to Matsyendra Nath's *Kula-jnana-Nirnaya*) is not accepted in science. Besides, although *Tantra* respects women, as befits the worshippers of the Mother Goddess, this central idea leaves them out and this is inconsistent with the 'Democratic' side of the Scientific-Democratic Stage.

9. *Caste.* Caste is still very much alive in India today, (1974) as is clear from the Hindu attitude to marriages, commensality, jobs, and the pollution-caste status-caste competence—hierarchy complex. Marriages are still arranged according to *jatis*. "Love" marriages outside *jatis* create family problems. Commensality, or eating together, has largely become a matter of class, not caste. Many jobs do not go by *jatis*, and even in pre-Muslim India it did not do so. But priesthood can go only to Brahmans, who are born so; and several "dirty jobs" ("polluting" was the old word) like those of sweepers, tanners etc. are still hereditary. It is also difficult for people of "lower" castes to get white-collar or executive jobs, but this is largely for the same socio-economic reasons and lack of opportunities for traditionally suppressed groups as in countries advanced in Stage 10 (Scientific-Democratic) Civilization. The "pollution" idea is still there in the subconscious. There is caste precedence and caste status, specially on ceremonial occasions, as enjoined in the *shastras* (sacred texts), causing intense heart-burning and humiliation. The supreme effort of many *jatis* is to move up the *varna-jati* scale, and this happens when a *jati* as a whole prospers, as experience and all authoritative books on caste testify. It will be appropriate to consider, briefly, the items of caste competence and hierarchy a little later. But from what has been stated it is clear that caste is a live issue in India and merits consideration using our techniques of study, viz. examina-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

tion of inner consistency, and of consistency *vis-a-vis* Stage 10 (Scientific-Democratic) Values and Institutions.

The theory of caste, as has been stated earlier, occurs in a late portion of the *Rig Veda,* in the *Purusha Shukta.* It is repeated in Manu's *Dharma Shastra* (I. 31-32, 87-91). The four *varnas* have come out of the Deity's mouth, arms, thighs and feet. Then, dividing his body, he became half-male and half-female, and with the female produced Virag, and through Virag, because of his own austerities (*tapas,* equivalent also to "heat") the whole world of living beings. Then the various *jatis* were produced by a mixture of *varnas* (*Manu,* X 1-100). This is mythopoeia. But even in mythopoeia there has to be some internal consistency. It is necessary to consider this because of the widespread belief in Hindu India, 70% illiterate (1974), in Manu's mythopoeic philosophy. Blood is not static in anyone's body. It is circulating all the time. How then can the mouth be purer than the arms, the arms than the thighs, and the thighs than the feet? Also, if different *varnas* are not of the same purity as the Brahmans then the Supreme Being himself, from whom the four *varnas* emanated, is not wholly pure! This is a ridiculous conclusion, for to all Deists the Supreme Being is the embodiment of Purity and Holiness. The *Purusha Shukta* also conflicts with the Vedantic idea of the Deity being only a Shining Light. The question of beings coming out of different parts of shining Light perhaps does not arise, (as human beings are unlike the progenitor, Shining Light) and if it does, since Shining Light is equally glorious in all parts, there cannot be *varnas* of different quality. The Deity's splitting himself into two halves, male and female, creates problems. Females are classified in the *Shastras* with the Shudras, but on the division theory there should be females of different qualities, if they emerge from different parts of this body.

In the *shastras* blood is not mentioned with reference to *varna* as did Rosenberg and other Nazis in their theory of *Blut.* But *varna* in India is hereditary,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

implying a blood theory. This is also mixed up with the spiritual voltage theory and the theory of caste competence. Thus, only hereditary Brahmans can become priests, both because of blood as well as spiritual voltage. Blood-Spiritual voltage implies differing caste-competence for differing *jatis*. Brahmanic spiritual voltage may not be good for fighting. Thus, when General B. N. Kaul failed against the Chinese in 1962, the sub-conscious feeling of many Hindus which erupted was that he was a Brahman unsuited for warfare. There was a widespread misunderstanding about General J. N. Chaudhuri being a Jat. If the *jawans* (soldiers) know that he was a Bengali Brahman it may have affected their morale. A Brahmanic Blood-voltage-caste competence configuration, however, is good for civil rulership. Thus although Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri was a Kayastha ("official class", he was a Srivastava), this was not widely-known, because of the use by him of his title "Shastri", duly given to him by the Pandits of Benares for his Sanskritic learning, a prudent and circumspect use in caste-conscious India which must have given him millions of votes throughout his career. Thus, complex mythopoeia has practical uses even in India of the twentieth century.

The blood-spiritual voltage—caste competence theory is inconsistent with modern science. No research has been done on the link between caste on the one hand and gene and chromosome composition on the other. To Scientific Man this would be a ridiculous and futile subject of research, but it may be well worth the while because of the sub-conscious, and sometimes conscious beliefs and prejudices of many Hindu intellectuals in the matter. Blood groups, however, show no variation according to caste, a fact not widely known among the teeming millions of India's uneducated and half-educated.

Another piece of research, which may be incomprehensible to Scientific Man, is necessary to prove to the majority of Hindus that there is no connection between *varna* or *jati* on the one hand and spiritual voltage on

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the other, the latter being considered equal to or proportionate to the electric rays emitted by the human brain, which can be quantitatively measured by the ECG (Encephalograph).

Caste is inconsistent with individual fitness for particular jobs, and therefore, to matter-of-course mobility between various trades, skills and specializations. Caste is against merit. The hierarchical attitude and the consequent *guruvada,* or blind following of the preceptor is inconsistent with the Scientific Attitude, which alone can create science and technology. Hence, caste must be condemned on all intellectual counts, apart from the emotional distaste for it which Democratic Man feels. On the other hand it is not Indian man alone who is *Homo Hierarchicus,* to use Louis Dumont's term. We have seen earlier that all Stage 7 (Theo-Aristocratic) Societies, and Societies of certain earlier Stages, all over the world, are hierarchic in their organisation and attitude, and all are *Homo Hierarchicus.* Mary Douglas underscores the same point in her introduction to Louis Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* when she says that like must be compared with like, and so, Hindu hierarchy with Medieval Christian hierarchy.[113]

10. *Mahabharata, Ramayana, Puranas, and other Sanskrit literature*: The question here is whether Sanskrit (and other Stage 7) literature, in original or in translation, is inconsistent with the Scientific-Democratic Stage. And what are the implications of the answer. Stories are the most transmittable part of the human heritage, both through Time, and across different societies. Details very special to the Stage of Society in which they originated may introduce an inhibitory element in their enjoyment. Shorn of these, that is to say, edited in varying degrees, books of different Stages of Civilization can give pleasure to all. Thus, Roman and Greek mythology and tales, the Odysseus, the *Nibenungenlied* etc; to take examples from Europe. These were once part and parcel of the life of different areas of Europe, sources not only of enjoyment, but also of inspiration and instruction. Today they are not so. They cater

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

mainly to the pleasure of youth. Our literary heritage of the Theo-Aristocratic and earlier Stages can have only the same destiny. It should be edited and carefully preserved and cherished, but it would be idle to expect that the stories, essays, poems etc. making up this legacy would be living realities for us. That is to say, source-books for inspiration and instruction, and for daily conduct. This is clear from the actions of the shrewd *banias* behind Hindi film-making, their steadily lessening production of Hindu "mythologicals".

Another question remains. Can Sanskrit, a dead language of the upper crust (except in the North West, where it was a mass language also), become a living language, like Hebrew? The comparison is not apt. Some people always studied and spoke Hebrew in the close-knit communities in which they lived in the Diaspora. Also, Yiddish, the language of the main emigrants to Israel, was interspersed with Hebrew. The case of Sanskrit is different. It is a noble language which has been dead for many centuries, like Latin, but is still not dead, for it lives through its children—languages, natural and adopted, covering the whole of India.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 16

NEW CASTES

IT HAS been stated in Chapter 15 that new ruling groups came into the Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocracy after the post-Mauryan Time of Troubles. The purpose of this chapter is to :—

(a) describe these classes a little more fully ;

(b) consider their position in Hindu Society vis-a-vis the Brahmans.

HUNAS

The eruption of the Hunas into India from the 4th-5th century A.D. is crucial in the new castes formation question. The Hunas who came to India were apparently not Mongoloid, but mainly Iranian-speaking white men, the *Shveta-Hunas* ("White Huns") as distinct from the *Hara Hunas* ("Dark Huns") although Turkish-speaking and Mongoloid-speaking groups must also undoubtedly have been there.[1] The name Toramana, of an Indian Huna king, apparently has Turkish affiliations (Turman), although the name of his son, Mihirakula, is Iranian-sounding. The Huna coins show the king to be profusely bearded, and the features are Caucasoid. The Guptas had difficulties in dealing with the Hunas. They were, however, checked while Europe practically fell to the group led by the Mongoloid Huns. But Skandagupta was forced to debate the currency to raise resources to deal with them. Much of West India fell to the Hunas. The Indian Hunas were viceroys of a Huna kingdom extending from Iran to Khotan, with its capital at Bamiyan, now in Afghanistan. Baladitya Narsimha Gupta defeated them in the plains. Yashodharman of Malwa drove them out from West India. They were confined to Kashmir and parts of the north-west and then disappeared from the scene.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Hunas And Jats

The Hunas wiped out the Yaudheyas, the Arjunayanas, the Malwas, the Madras etc.—many of them of Pandava descent—as separate units and completed the work of Alexander and of the Guptas. It appears that the Hunas merged with these Aryan republican tribals to form the Jats. The Jats are overwhelmingly Caucasoid, but the existence of "Cheen Jats" indicates a slight Mongoloid element also. There have been many speculations as to what the word "Jat" means. But the most plausible is that of G. C. Dwivedi,[2] that the name comes from *Jata* (short vowels, like *juta,* to rhyme with *gut*), a Sanskrit word for close combination or *Sangha* (*Jata-jhata Samghate—Siddhantakaumundi*). Khushwant Singh says that in present-day speech the Sikh Jats are still called *juts,* to rhyme with *guts.*[3] In other words, the Jats are the descendants mainly of the old Aryan republican tribes, mixed up with other white Caucasoid groups like the Hunas, and of course, the Punjab Adivasis.

Hunas And Rajputs

In the Punjab the Jats are closely linked with Rajputs (literally *Rajaputras*—sons of kings, i.e. of Huna kings). The Rajputs are also spread in Rajasthan, Gujarat and North India (except Bengal and Assam). The Rajputs are supposed to be largely of *Shveta Huna* (White Hun) origin. The orthodox view is that they are the descendants of the *Kshatriyas,* but with increasing objectivity the other view, that diverse strains, Adivasi, Kshatriya, Dravidian-speakers and Hunas have gone into their making, is gaining ground. The four *Agnikula* ("Fire Family" i.e. made into Kshatriyas by a sacred fire ritual) clans—Paramar, Parihara (Pratihara), Chalukya and Chauhana, were supposed to be of Huna origin. Dr Upendra Thakur, however, has doubted this.[4] He thinks that the Eastern Chalukyas were Dravidian-speaking by origin, as were the Solankis (Chalukyas)—the latter being from the Karnata area (descendants of neolithic stock-breeders turned warriors in the course of fighting for and protecting cattle), like the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Rathors (Rashtrakutas). He seems to think that only the Pratiharas, possibly the Paramaras, are of Huna-Gurjara stock. Some Kshatriya blood undoubtedly flows in Rajput veins, specially in the Punjab. Elsewhere, the Kshatriyas, war-mad people, had largely killed each other off by about 500 B.C., after about 1200 years of mad fighting, killing, enslaving, and lives of pleasure and debauchery all over the Gangetic plains. The Shishunagas of Pataliputra were apparently mainly Adivasis, the Nandas were Shudras, as were the Mauryas, that is to say mainly Adivasis with some Aryan "blood". The Guptas came from the Aryan commonalty, the *vish,* and their surname "Coverer", "Protector", was adopted by the *vaishyas* who had practically all become business men. Harsha (later) also came from the *vish.* The Kushanas (Shakas, who invaded India in the 2nd century B.C. from Central Asia) must have also contributed to the Rajput racial heritage in a large measure, as the common Rajput appellation *thakur,* is a word meaning, initially, "Tokharian" i.e. Kushan (Tukhara/Thakura).[5]

Ahirs And Gujars

The nomadic stock-breeding Abhiras (Ahirs) came with the Shakas (2nd century B.C.) and settled along with them in the former Yadava country, from Mathura to Saurashtra. To the Krishna mythology of the Yadavas they added their cow-herd legends and traditions, including what came to be called the *Ras Leela,* as we have seen in the section on "Syncretism" in Chapter 15. They spread over the whole of North West India, West India and North India, including Bengal, as virile, sturdy stock-breeders and milkmen.[6]

The Gujars or Gurjaras, who came along with the Hunas, were also martial stock-breeders. They gave their name to places like the Gujrat and Gujranwala districts of the Punjab, and the state of Gujarat. Their leaders, the Gurjara Pratiharas, who ruled over much of North India from Kanyakubja (Kanauj) (800-1019 A.D.), were classified as Rajputs.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Khatris

Some of the Punjab warrior groups, like the Aroras, apparently took to trade and became part of the *Khatris*. J. N. Bhattacharya, in his book written in 1896, mentions them as *Kshetris*[7]. The most plausible etymology pointing to Khatri origin seems to be *Kshetraswami* (lord of the field)—*Kshetri—Khetri—Khatri*. This corresponds also with the history of the Aryo-Indians, described in Chapter 15. Thus, the Khatris grew out of the original Aryan commonalty, or *vish*. The Greeks of North-west India must have been prominent, with their extra-Indian relations, in international trade. They also must have merged in the Khatri group as surnames like Joneja (i.e. Yavanaja, Ionian) seems to indicate. Many of the Hunas (like Khannas, Chawlas etc.) also became Khatris (Cf. Chapter 9).

New Groups Of Brahmans

The Shakas in the 2nd century B.C. had conquered much of West India (Nahapana etc.). The Satavahanas like Gautamiputra Satakarni (86-114) and his son Vasishtiputra Pulumayi (114-21) boasted that they had rooted out the "Shakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas (i.e. Parthian Iranians)". Obviously the impure region had to be "Sanskritised", to use Professor M. N. Srinivas' term. The Satavahanas were great Sanskritisers. It is possibly at this time that the new group of Chitpavan Brahmans were formed. The *Sahyadri Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana* describes how Parasurama, not finding any Brahmans for the performance of a *Shraddha* (death rite), created sixty men from the *Chita* or funeral pyre, and consecrated them as Brahmans. They became the ancestors of the famous Chitpavan Brahmans of the Konkan. Similarly, Rama is supposed to have consecrated a number of hill-men as Brahmans, whose descendants are known as Anarvala and Sajodra Brahmans of Gujarat.[8] Groups like the Chitpavanas, with their fair skins, sharp features and greenish-grey "cat-eyes"[19] must have come along with the Iranian Shakas.

Thus, the strength of the Brahmanas was being added

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

to in the New Ground areas. Formerly, the priests of these regions were suspect. Thus, Hemadri in his *Chatur-varga-chintamani* quotes from the *Saura Purana*: "The Brahmans of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Saurashtra, Gurjara, Abhira, Konkana, Dravida, Dakshinapatha, Avanti and Magadha should be avoided."[10] Now these *deshaja* (indigenous) and foreign-origin priests were absorbed in the North-Indian priestly tradition in the Age of Syncretism.

This is particularly true in the South, where four stages may be postulated:—

(i) Matrilineal Indusian priests over the whole of the South, coming from South Iran and Baluchistan with the Iron Age groups, as brought out in Chapter 9. They were Dravidian-speaking and echoes of their universality and supremacy in the South still survive, in spite of many incrustations, in the temple of the Mother Goddess Meenakshi at Madurai, where she is clearly superior to and more important than her consort, Sundareswarar.

(ii) In the post-Maurya Time of Troubles many Brahmans must have fled from the North West and infiltrated to the South, loaded with gifts and favours by rulers like the greatly "Sanskritising" Pallavas of Kanchi (300-880 A.D.). These *Vadamars* or *Vadagalai*, i.e. "Northerners" as distinct from the *Tongalai* or "Southerners" must have introduced Sanskrit and Patriarchal Aryo-Indian rites.

(iii) In the Age of Syncretism all the *deshaja* or "native South Indian deities like Murugan, Subrahmanya, Ayappan, Sastha, the great Meenakshi herself, and others were grouped, and merged with Shiva, Shakti and Vishnu, and their priests admitted into the Aryo-Indian fold.

(iv) Finally, the South Indian Brahmans became ascendant with Shankara, Ramanuja and Madhava on the intellectual side; and with the creators of the *Bhakti* religion, the Shaiva *Nayanars* and the Vaishnava *Alwars* on the emotional side.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Ethnically, there are two strains, in South India as elsewhere, the White and Dark-White Caucasoid, and the Dark Caucasoid (or Munda-type). Considerable hybridization between priests of all groups must have taken place, at least from the Age of Syncretism, as some Brahmans are fair, others dark, all mixed up in the same family-clusters. By Darlington's thesis (Chapter 11) no genetic mutation has taken place, leading to a darker colour over the last 10,000 years. Thus, the conclusion is inevitable that there must have been cross-breeding between the infiltrating Northern Brahmans (some probably without women) and the *deshaja* ("native") priests. The word *Aiyar,* used by Brahmans, meaning "wise men" (feminine *Aiai*), has apparently come from *Aiyan,* another name of the Tamil god, Shattan.[11] The name *Aiyan-gar* seems to be a variation.

Kayasthas

The *Kayastha* (literally "Standing on the Body", a meaningless term) is a late-comer in Indian history, really from the Gupta period, though in the *Yajnavalkya Samhita,* 3rd century A.D., the name occurs once (1.336). The term "Kayastha" does not appear in Manu's *Dharma-Shastra.* In the famous lexicon, *Amarakosha* (5th century A.D.) the word is not mentioned.[12] Dr N. K. Dutt thinks that the inspiration for such a class, which later became a caste, came with the bureaucrats of the Shakas and the Kushanas, who were steeped in Persian-Hellenic traditions. He derives the word *Kayastha* from the Persian *Kshayathiya,* royal official, which makes sense.[13] (Kshayathiya—Kayathia—Kayeth—Kayastha, the last to give it a meaning, however fanciful, in Sanskrit). The Guptas may have received the "stimulus diffusion" (using A. L. Kroeber's term) from the Sassanians. Originally the Kayasthas or officials seem to have been Brahmans, as the evidence of inscriptions and literature indicates.[14] To give an example, Kalhana says in his *Rajatarangini*: "About that time there died by strangulation that rogue of a Kayastha, the Brahmana Shivaratha, who had been a great intriguer". (VIII. 2383).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Certain officials like the *Nagar* Brahmans of Gujarat and the *Niyogi* Brahmans of Andhra Desha are still Brahmans. The *Karanas,* or clerks, of mixed Vaishya—Shudra origin, came to be linked with the Kayasthas as a composite group.[15] Thus the Kayasthas, besides including foreigners (officials, experts, largely of Persian origin) were recruited from all Indian castes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras. The Chandra-Shreniya Kayastha Prabhus (CK Prabhus) of Maharashtra are racially akin to the Chitpavans and are clearly, like them, of Iranian origin. The Kayasthas constituted an administrative class, from scribes, accountants and record-keeper to governors and generals, a unified civil service, which later became a hereditary caste. This is reflected in the popular Bengali saying—*jat gele kayeth hoi* ("if a man loses jat or caste, he becomes a kayeth i.e. a kayastha).

The Kayasthas were intensely disliked, like bureaucrats and tax-collectors everywhere. In the very first mention of them in the *Yajnavalkya Samhita* they are associated with rogues, thieves and robbers, from whom the king should always protect his subjects. This sentiment runs throughout the later *Smriti* and *Purana* literature, and makes it appearance in many well-known dramas.[16] Kalhana, in his *Rajatarangini,* uses strong language to describe the cruel, deceitful and perfidious character of the Kayasthas (IV. 90; 629; VIII. 131).

Nevertheless, the Kayasthas, because of their largely Brahman origin, and Brahman affiliations in the Court, were deeply Brahman in culture and attached to Brahmans. In Bengal the word *Bamun-Kayeth* is used to denote the gentry. In Maharashtra the C. K. and Patari Prabhus were closely associated with the Deshastha Brahmans. The Kayasthas, when they formed a caste, were not allowed instruction in the Vedas. Thus, they became dependent on Brahmans for higher spiritual knowledge as well as for the performance of religious rites.

The Kayasthas, denoted as such, operate in North India (including Central India), East India and West.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

India. In the South there are no Kayasthas, but Kayastha functions are performed by certain groups; in Andhra Pradesh by the Niyogi Brahmans and Karnams; in the Karnataka area by the Kanakkans and the Shanbhogs; and in the Tamil country by the Vellarars (Mudaliars and Pillais) and the Vadugas (Naidus, of Andhra origin).

Conclusions

The North West had been more or less abandoned by the more orthodox Brahmans from about the 6th century B.C. because of the "impurity" caused by foreign infiltrators who did not care for their rites. This area apparently became largely Mahayana Buddhist (as we shall see in Chapter 22). Hence the Jats were not very much in the minds of the Heartland (*Madhya Desha*) Brahmans. They classified the ceremonially lax Jats amongst the Shudras.

The Rajputs of North India, Rajasthan and Gujarat were neophytes in the Aryo-Indian fold. They were beholden to the Brahmans, who had fabricated genealogies for them, and were entirely dependent on them for their culture. They were in no position to fill the cultural role of the long-departed rivals of the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas. Groups which did not care for the Brahmans, like the Yavanas or Greeks, had to be left out, although the Brahmans made overtures to them and went so far as to classify them as of Kshatriya-Shudra descent (Gautama IV.21). The Kayasthas had strong Brahman affiliations and were culturally and ideologically the hangers-on of the Brahmans. The strong-armed Ahirs and Gujars, with their lax ceremonial ways, were classified as Shudras. Thus, in the post-Maurya Time of Troubles to the Age of Syncretism there was continuous accretion to the power of the Theocrats, which became firmly established by the incorporation of foreign elements, like the ci-devant Iranian Chitpavans, and by hybridization with *deshaja* or "native" priests.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

STAGE 7B—INTERACTION WITH ISLAM: MUSLIM-INDIAN THEO-ARISTOCRATIC

INTRODUCTORY

IN CHAPTER 2 twelve Theo-Mercantile societies were identified, and one of them was the Arabo-Persian Muslim (6th to 15th century A.D.). This interacted with Sind and South Punjab and as a result the growing Abbasid intellectual centre of Baghdad was much enriched, while Islam and West Asian civilization gained a foothold in India. For reasons which we shall see, trade in the Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile subsequently decreased, and there was a regression to Theo-Aristocratic, Turko-Persian Islamic (11th-19th century A.D.), one of the eighteen Theo-Aristocratic societies identified in Chapter 2. This society conquered much of India and established itself there, thus affecting the destiny of our country. But it derived most of its culture and inheritance from the preceding Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile, which will therefore, be treated in some detail.

THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THEO-MERCANTILE SOCIETIES

We have seen in Chapter 2, while considering Stage 8, that the Theo-Mercantile societies originated in several ways. The Arabo-Persian Muslim grew out of Stage 5 (Warrior-traders, the Bedouins) and Stage 7 Theo-Aristocratic (Persian and Byzantine) societies, with a back-drop of Stage 3 (Matrifocal Agriculturist) with their fertility goddesses in the oases of Arabia and in pre-Muslim Mecca. It had its own ideology—Islam.

In all these societies, we have seen in Chapter 2, the Dominant Socio-Economic Mode of Life was trading, with the help of artisans, although as a percentage of Gross National Product the figure may have been low.

The Prevailing Mentality or Ethos (Consciousness VIII) is marked, because of extensive trading and so, differing human contacts, with a greater degree of rationalism

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and humanism than before. This led to the following Basic Attitudes—

—Greater intellectualism.

—More simplicity in religion; or a more intellectual religion; or a new one, simpler and more intellectual at the same time.

—More cosmopolitanism;

—More secularisation in the arts.

The politics depended on the relative strengths of the 'aristo', 'theo' (old and new) and 'mercantile' elements.

The Basic Attitudes influenced various Values and Institutions, function-wise, as follows:—

1.	Science and Technology.	More development.
2.	Economic.	More trade.
3.	Family and society.	Less of class; less injustice towards women.
4.	Politics/administration/ military affairs.	Depending on the strength of various classes, some rationalisation.
5.	Ideology.	Simpler or more intellectual or a new religion.
6.	Culture.	Cosmopolitanism, aestheticism, growing secularism.

Theo-Mercantile
Arabo-Persian Civilization[1]

Configurational Dynamics—Internal Relations/External Relations

The Arabian steppes have been, like those of North Asia, and for the same reasons (given in Chapter 9), a great reservoir of virile nomadic warriors. Under Sargon of Akkad they gave Sumeria its first unification round about 2300 B.C. The fighting and trading Amorites, from the same provenance, founded the Babylonian civilization (19th century B.C.); the Chaldeans sprang from the same source, as did the Assyrians; other groups went west, from 2600 B.C. onwards—the Phoenicians; the Aramaic-speaking Syrians; and the Habirus or Hebrews (from 2000 B.C.).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

In the 6th century A.D. once again warriors, Muslim Arabs this time, burst forth into the rest of West Asia. The Perso-Byzantine wars for a hundred years had disrupted the Yemen-Hejaz trade (*via* Mecca) with the Mediterranean, largely in frankincense and spices, and much misery had ensued along the route and elsewhere. The urban poor, the slaves and the raiding-trading Bedouin warrior nomads united under the banner of the Prophet Muhammad[2] (570-632), with his new doctrine of Islam ("submission to the will of God") to avenge themselves, first on the rich Meccans, and then on the rulers of West Asia, the Persians and the Byzantines. Tribal loyalty gave way to loyalty to Islam, and tribal consensus, *ijma,* to the consensus of the Islamic group, the *umma.* The *umma* idea received a great fillip when Yathrib (Medina), with its mixed Arab, Jewish and other peoples fell to the Prophet in 622. He became governor, statesman, law-giver of the new grouping, the Islamic *umma.* The idol-worshipping of the Mecca aristocrats (Mecca had 360 idols in the Kaaba sancturay)[3] was the most virulent object of hate of the anti-Establishment Muslims ("those who submit to God"). The Aristocrats bibbed wine profusely; so drinking was restrained. Unrestrained polygamy was curbed and the number of wives at any one time restricted to four. The "people of the Book", with revealed scriptures, like the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, became second-class citizens, *dhimmis* or *zimmis,* and their lives were spared. Idolatrous Arabs, representatives or hangers-on of the Establishment, however, had no choice—Islam or death.

The daily congregational prayers of the new faith had, on its followers, the psychological effect of Roman close-order drill. Unified, excellent camel-men and horsemen, full of mobility and daring, skilled in logistics, the Muslims under their brilliant generals overran the whole of West Asia. Iran was a divided society, torn between Sassanid oppressors and a large mass of poor people, attracted to radical doctrines like Mazdakism. The rest of West Asia breathed heavily under either the alien Byzantine or alien Iranian yoke. The victories of Islam, therefore, although breath-taking and stupendous, can be explain-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

ed. Between 632 A.D. and 732 A.D., in a span of hundred years, the Arabs became rulers of a territory stretching from the borders of India and Central Asia to the Pyrenees, including Egypt and the North African littoral, but excluding Anatolia. In 677 and 680 the Arabs invaded Constantinople and only "Greek fire", the mode of manufacture of which was a closely-guarded secret, kept them away. The Arabs had become a super-power, under the *Khalifa Rashidun* (The Orthodox Khalifs 6th-7th centuries A.D.), the Umayyadas of Damascus (7th-8th centuries A.D.) and the Abhasids of Baghdad (8th-10th centuries A.D.).

The second or Umayyad phase came into existence after the civil war between Muawiyah (661-80) and the supporters of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, which ended with the death of the sons of the latter, Hasan and Hussain, at Karbala in 683. A tension now grew up between two groups of the *muminin* ("the Faithful" or Muslims), the Arabs and the non-Arabs. The latter were *mavali* or client Arabs, attached to various Arab tribes, but this did not satisfy them.

The Abbasids came to power on the wave of resentment against this discrimination. The Umayyads found a home, and a new kingdom, in Spain, which became part of the Islamic Theo-Mercantile Civilization. All distinctions between Muslim and Muslim were swept away everywhere and the whole of West Asia had a brilliant, theo-mercantile, intellectual, enquiring civilization for over three hundred years. The cosmopolitanism of this civilization is typified by the House of Wisdom (*Beth-al-Hikmah*), founded by Al-Mamun (813-33) at Baghdad, where the best of Greece and India was translated and propagated, much assisted by books made from paper, a Chinese discovery.

On the wake of the Crusades in the 11th century, trade with the Mediterranean passed to Italians and conservative land-holding elements got the upper hand. The Baghdad Court had become exceedingly luxurious and soft, and the Khalifate disintegrated. The hardy Seljuk Turks streamed in during this distintegration period (11th-15th centuries) (Phase 4) from Central Asis, increasing feudalisation. The

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Mongols in the 13th century, gave the *coup de grace* to this society in the East, and the Iberian Christian Theo-Aristocrats in their successful campaigns against the Umayyads in Spain.

Achievements (i) *Science and Technology*: In the first phase Masarjawayh, a Persian-Jewish physician of Basra, translated into Arabic, around 683, a Syriac treatise on medicine originally composed by an Alexandrian Christian priest—the first scientific translation into Arabic, showing also its cosmopolitan beginnings. Works on alchemy and astrology were translated from Greek and Coptic into Arabic. As Hitti says: "Arab scientific thought had its inception in the Greek tradition."[4]

In the second phase, of the Umayyad Khalifs (7th-8th century) Jabir-ibn-Hayyan, a Kufan (Iraqi) developed chemistry (alchemy). He was famous in Medieval Europe as "Geber".

The third phase, the Abbasid (8th-10th centuries) saw the zenith of Arabic scientific achievement. Al-Farghani (a Turk) ("Alfraganus" of the West) developed astronomy, Abumashar (Albumasar), a Persian (Khurasanian) astronomy and astrology. The needs of astrology led to the concepts of latitude and longitude and their development. Al-Kindi, an Arab, was a master of geometrical and physical optics. Al-Khwarizni, a Persian, wrote on astronomy and algebra and introduced Indian numerals, which were transmitted to the West by Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa in 1202. Another famous astronomer of this period was Ibn Munus Ibn Haytham (Alhazen) wrote in optics. Many words of Arabic origin in astronomy and mathematics have passed into European languages, like azimuth, nadir, zenith, cipher, zero, algebra, surd (deaf) and sine (pocket).

Ibn-Bakhtishu, the dean of the famous Jundishapur school, a Nestorian Christian Syrian, was a master of medicine, specially of eye-diseases. The Iraqi Al-Jahiz, knew how to obtain ammonia from animal offal by dry distillation and entertained a faint idea of later theories of evolution, adaptation, and animal psychology.[5] The famous Persian doctor, Al-Razi (Rhazes) wrote an encyclopaedia on medicine, and was the first to distinguish

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

between measles and small-pox. Al-Majusi, of Persian Zoroastrian origin, wrote an encyclopaedia, a treasure house of the science and practice of medicine. Ibn-Sina (Avicenna), a Persian, codified the entire Geraeco-Arabic medical thought and practice. Al-Zahrawi (Abulcasis) of Muslim Cordova (in Spain) was a famous surgeon, whose manual of surgery continued to be published in Oxford as late as 1778.[6]

Science continued to flourish in the Breakdown Period (11th-15th centuries). Al-Zarqali of Toledo (Azachel) wrote on astronomy, Ibn-Aflah of Seville (Afflae) on various aspects of mathematics. The Persian mathematician and astronomer, Umar-al-Khayyam (the famous poet Omar Khayyam), pleaded for calendar reform. Ibn Rushd (Averroes), of Cordova and Seville, was a polymath-philosopher, astronomer and physician. Yaqut Rumi, a Greek, and al-Idrisi, an Arab in the court of the Arabicised Roger II (1130-1154) of Sicily, wrote standard works on geography. The Syrian, Al-Fida (13th-14th century) believed in the sphericity of the earth. Ibn-Baytar of Malaga was a herbalist, botanist and pharmacist. The Syrian Al-Nafis (13th century) conceived of the theory of the circulation of the blood.

It will be seen from the above recital how cosmopolitan Arab science was, although the culture-language was always Arabic. However, as in contemporary Theo-Mercantile China, the Arabo-Persian scientist did not go much outside the laboratory, the observatory and the clinic to the technician's workshop. The marriage between gentlemanly "natural philosophy" and technology would be a West European affair, mainly from the nineteenth-century. Arabic science was snuffed out by Theo-Aristocracy, Turkish by origin in Asia, Spanish in Europe.

(ii) *Economics*: In the very first phase increasing trade led to the growth of new towns—Kufa, Basra and al-Fustat. In the second phase Syria and the Lebanon increased the area of trading operations. In the third phase trade ranged from China, through the Great Silk Way, across Central Asia to North Africa and Spain. Northwards it went along tht Volga to Sweden, as testified both

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

by Abbasid coins as well as literary sources. South Arabia continued its trade in spices with India, and northwards along the Hejaz route, to the rest of West Asia. Cairo (Al-Qahirah) was founded in 972. The objects of trade were both luxuries as well as articles of utility, all hand-made. It was the zenith period of Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile trade.

But it did not last for ever. Troubles came from all sides, internal feuds, attacks by Turks and Spaniards at both ends, Italian seizure of the Mediterranean trade, and consequent Theo-Aristocratic regression. To cap it all, the Mesopotamian irrigation system, the rich heritage from Sumerian days, decayed by the constant rising of the field level, and so, by salt pans and swamps.[7] What was needed was a new irrigation canal system. Instead, the Mongols gave the *coup de grace* to Baghdad and to Mesopotamian civilization, including its irrigation system (13th century), from which it never recovered.

(iii) *Family and Society*: The early, pre-Muslim Arabs often had queens and chieftainesses as rulers, like the Queen of Sheba, and women were prominent, as Assyrian inscriptions, the testimonies of Claudian, of Ammianus Marcellinus etc. indicate. Muhammad himself started as an employee of the Bibi Khadijah, whom he later married. This high position continued in the periods of the Khalifa Rashidun, Umayyads and the first half of the Abbasids. The founder of the Abbasid dynasty, al-Saffah ("the blood-shedder") took no decisive step without his wife's approval. Harun-al-Rashid's queen, Zubaydah, supplied Mecca and many other cities with water-works which bore her name. But with increasing feudalisation and male jealousy, women were thrust into the home, and strict segregation, seclusion and the veil reigned supreme. Hitti says: "In the *Thousand and One Nights* the woman is the personification of cunning and intrigue and the repository of all base sentiment and every unworthy thought...."[8]

In the first two periods the social stratification was—Arab aristocrats/Neo-Moslems (*mavali* or clients)/*dhimmis*/slaves. During the Umayyad period the eunuch sys-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

tem, for use in the court, the home and the office, was adopted from Byzantium. In the Abbasid phase all distinctions between Muslims were abolished. There was a good deal of egalitarianism, and Al-Farabi taught that society was an organism, like the human being, with the king its heart. In the breakdown period there was extreme luxury, widespread homosexuality and debauchery. Al-Muqtadir had over 11,000 eunuchs and what would today be called "call-girls" were freely available to all. Corps of female pages, dressed as boys, pandered to male aestheticism and male lust.

(iv) *Politics, Administration etc.*: This has already been covered under the head "Configurational Dynamics". But the growth of rationalism in administration, in the sense of various law schools, should be mentioned. Jurisprudence, or *figh,* was cultivated as a science, but it was closely tied up with the Koran (the utterances of Muhammad.) and tradition (*hadith*). Various schools developed, the chief during the Abbasid period. The Medina school under Malik ibn-Anas (8th century) was conservative. The Malikite school dominates North and Central Arabia, and North Africa. The liberal Iraqui school, the Hanafite, after Abu-Hanifa, the Persian, insisted on the right of juridical speculation, particularly analogical deduction. It spread to Turkey, India and Central Asia. In between was the Shafiite School, prevailing in East Africa, South Arabia, Lower Egypt, Palestine and Indonesia. The Hanbalite was extremely conservative and its following is restricted to the puritanical Wahhabis of Nejd and Hejaz.

Administration, from the earliest days, was left as it was—Byzantine and Sassanid, along with the incumbents.

(v) *Ideology*: There will be a separate section on "The Faith of Islam and its Early Sects" a little later. In the first period Islam arose, and with it *hadith* (tradition), and theology and law (*shariah*). In the Umayyad phase the Qadarites held that man had power, *qadar,* over his acts, as against predetermination, stressed by harsh divines. The doctrine of *ijma* or consensus of believers (the *umma*) was asserted against the belief of some that only the family of Ali (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad)

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

had the right of decision. This broke into the Shiah (Ali's supporters)—Sunni (others) schism. The Mutazilites (seceder, schismatic) stressed reason and held that the doctrine of the uncreated and eternal nature of the Koran was inconsistent with the essential unity of God. Some ran away from these controversies into mysticism. The first great mystic of Islam was the woman-saint of Basra, Rabiah (719-801). The Ismailis taught that the Koran could be understood only by esoteric interpretation. Al-Kindi tried to synthesise Athenian-Hellenic rationalism and Islam. Al-Farabi produced a syncretism of Plato, Aristotle and the Islamic mystics (*sufis*). Al-Ashari stormed against the Mutazilites, emphasising scholastic theology. Al-Hallaj, the Sufi, declared *an-al-haq* ("I am the truth") and was executed for it. The Qarmatians were communistic and even established a State, for a short while, round the Persian Gulf.

In the Breakdown Period, the Period of Feudalization, rationalism and intellectualism were given up. The watchword came to be Al-Ghazzali's *Bila Qayf*—Believing without Reasoning. But intellectualism still lived on, specially in outlying places like Spain, typified by the scepticism and guarded rationalism of Ibn Rushd of Seville (Averroes). Mysticism was frowned upon by the orthodox. Al-Ghazzali produced a compromise—public orthodoxy, private mysticism. Some mysticism went underground, like the Neo-Ismaili one of Hasan-al-Sabah, the Old Man of the Mountains. But the growth of Sufi orders could not be contained. The most prominent among these were the tolerant and charitable Qadiris; the Rifais, believing in miracles; and the Mawlawis, whirling dervishes. Nor could be suppressed such universal, tolerant Sufi poets like Ibn Arabi (1165-1240) of Spain, some couplets of whose will be given later. (Rumi, Sadi, Hafiz etc. will also be dealt with later).

(vi) *Culture*: The Medina Khalifate, where the 'theo' side was strong, was strictly against art in any shape. For painting and sculpture are forms of creation, and creation, is for God alone. The Medina mosque was simple, an open courtyard enclosed by sun-baked clay, over which the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

flat roof of an adjacent building was extended to protect the congregation from the sun. The first muezzin, a former Abyssinian Christian, called the faithful to prayer from no minaret but atop this flat roof. Similarly austere were the mosques of Basra, Kufa, al-Fustat etc.

In the second phase, in the days of the Umayyads, sensuousness and aestheticism came along with intellectuality. One of the earliest of the splendid monumental buildings of Islam is the Dome of the Rock of Abd-al-Malik in Jerusalem. The distinctive feature of Muslim mosques, the dome, which is seen here, was copied from the Byzantine church cupolas, which were to be found in plenty then in Syria.[9] Mosaic, initially a special characteristic of Byzantine architecture, adorned this mosque also.

Decorative motifs now ornamented buildings—geometric and floral arabesques and quotations from the Koran in beautiful calligraphy. The pleasure-houses of the Umayyads contained pictures of human beings and animals also, probably painted by Byzantine Syrians. Such is the hunting-lodge of al-Walid in the Transjordan with its frescoes of nude women. In the pleasure-house of Hisham (8th century) at Khirbat al-Mafjar, near Jericho appear murals of plump dancing girls with lipstick and scarlet-painted finger and toe-nails—sensuous, "modern".

Wine and music were popular among the Umayyads. Ibn-Surayj introduced the lute from Persia, and the use of the baton for conducting musical performances. Yazid, the son of Muawiyah, held grand parties in the palace, with song and wine. By the 8th century, the orchestra had wood-bellied lutes, flutes, horns and reed pipes. Among the percussion instruments were the drum and the castanets, while women favoured the tambourine the most.

At Basra and Kufa, at the border of Persia, centres of Arabic study grew up so that the Neo-Moslems could understand the Koran, qualify for government posts and become Arabicised. The Basra Persian, Sibawayh (8th century) wrote a standard Arabic grammar, which is still not obsolete.

Arab Theo-Mercantile culture reached its zenith in the third phase, under the Abbasids. The Samarra mosque

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

of al-Mutawakkil, outside Baghdad (9th century), had multifoil arches and windows displaying Indian influence. Equally cosmopolitan were the borrowings from the Sassanid Persians in Abbasid architecture—ovoid and elliptical domes, semicircular arches, spiral towers, glazed wall-tiles and metal-covered roofs. Al-Mutasin, the son of the famous Harun-al-Rashid, adorned his palace at Samarra (836), like al-Walid in the Transjordan, with paintings of lovely nude women. The Umayyad traditions of royal festivals with wine, song and dancing girls were continued by the Abbasids on a grander scale. On one such occasion, before Harun-al-Rashid (famous in the *Arabian Nights*) over 2000 men and women danced and sang. Not to be outdone, his son Al-Amin held a party in which all the inmates of his palace, men and women, danced all the night till dawn. Some of the philosophers, like Al-Kindi and Al-Farabi, were musicians and wrote on the theory of music.

This was the age when Kashani tiles and beautiful Persian pottery became fairly widespread and popular. Along with it went beautiful calligraphy in the Perso-Arabic script so eminently suited for it.

Al-Mamun in 830 started the *Beth al Hikmah* or House of Wisdom, for translations from Greek and Sanskrit. The subjects chosen were mainly practical, and also philosophical. Thus Galen and Hippocrates' medicine, Euclid's and Ptolemy's mathematics, the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle and the neo-Platonists. Later came Indian mathematics, medicine and stories (translations from the Sanskrit). The chief of the early translators came from the *dhimmis,* the Nestorian Christian Hunayn ibn-Ishaq (Joannitus, 9th century) and the star-worshipping pseudo-Sabian Thabit ibn-Qurrah (9th century).

Along with translations, original books and the use of paper (a Chinese invention) grew the love of libraries and bookshops. An Arab geographer claimed that at the time of his writing (891 A.D.), Baghdad had a hundred book-dealers, all in one street. The books were manuscripts, written in hand, as printing was not known.

Of the poets of this period, still cherished, were Abu

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Nuwas and Al-Mutanabbi. The most famous work of this period is the *Thousand and One Nights* which contain enthralling adventure stories (Sindbad the Sailor, Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp etc.), as well as tales of revelries and orgies; it conjures vivid pictures of song, dance, feasting, power, elegance, cruelty, generosity—in short Life with all its manifold fascination.

Among the non-specialist intellectual works were the 15 volumes of universal history by the Persian Al Tabari (838-923), arranged chronologically. And the 30-volume work of the Arab, Al-Masudi (d. 956), surviving in epitome form, an "encyclopaedic historico-geographical compilation characterized by an unusual catholicity and intellectual curiosity."[10] Al-Masudi, the "Herodotus of the Arabs", travelled afar, like the Greek. His journeys took him to distant lands like India and Ceylon, and in Africa, to Zanzibar.

In the final creative phase (11th-15th centuries) we have the poetry of the irreligious al-Maarri of Aleppo; the essays of the much esteemed al-Hariri of Basra (12th century); the epic *Shah-Namah* (Book of Kings) by Firdausi (940-1020) in Persian; the *Rubaiyyat* of Umar-al-Khayyam, (Omar Khayyam) (d. 1123), also in Persian; the Travelogues of Ibn-Batuta; and the universal "environmental" philosophy of history of the Tunisian, Ibn-Khaldun. This was also the age when manuscript illustration, and with it, the art of the miniature began. Among the earliest manuscripts illustrated with miniatures (13th century) were the fables of "Bidpai" (from India) and the essays of al-Hariri.

Bokhara and Samarkand vie now with Baghdad for culture and intellectuality. All in all, this was one of the most brilliant and magnificent of civilizations created by man. Like other Theo-Mercantile civilizations trade was very important, the society was intellectual, cosmopolitan, sensuous, yet also austere and with a comparatively simple religion—in its 'Theo' side. It was this Theo-Mercantile Civilization which fed the mind of Medieval West Europe, largely through Spain, and Italy, with innumerable trans-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

lations of the great scholars of the Abbasid Age and of Spanish Islam, by indefatigable men like Gerard of Cremona, Adelard of Bath, Michael Scot etc. etc. and which, along with the Averroist spirit of enquiry, helped to usher in the Rational Spirit there, the forerunner of the Scientific, while the Arabs themselves regressed to Theo-Aristocracy and *Bila Qayf* (Believing without Reason)—in both cases due to the Dynamics of the Configuration. We have seen this in the case of the Perso-Arabs. We shall see so for West Europe later.

It was this Theo-Mercantile civilization which intersected with the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic in Sindh and the South Punjab. Before we deal with this topic it is necessary to consider what precisely the faith of Islam is and what were its early sects, sects important to Indian history.

Islam and its early sects

The main tenets of Islam are:—

(i) belief in only one God, Allah, originally one of Kaaba deities—*La ilaha il Allah la* (No divinity whatever but Allah) ;

(ii) the doctrine of Muhammad being the *rasul* or messenger of God (*Koran* 7.156, 157 ; 48, 29) ;

(iii) the *Koran* is the word of God, uncreated, co-eternal and identical, in its Arabic form, with a heavenly original (*Koran* 9.6 ; 17.170-78 ; 48.15 ; 97.1).

(iv) hierarchy of angels, headed by Gabriel ;

(v) sin arises not only from ritual causes but also moral ones ;

(vi) immortality of the soul ;

(vii) the Day of Judgement, and the reality of future life, with its physical pleasures and bodily pains, for good and wicked people, respectively. (*Koran* 15.35-36 ; 22.5 ; 30.56 ; 56.8-56).

The "Five Pillars of Islam" are:

(i) the recitation of the *Kalma—La ilaha il-Allah-la, Muhammad rasul Allah, rahim ur rahman* (There is no deity whatsoever but Allah and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah, the Merciful and the Compassionate) ;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(ii) the *namaz*—prayer five times a day;
(iii) *zakat*—almsgiving, usually 2½% of the income; *zan,* when the Koran was first revealed;
(iv) *roza* or fasting, specially in the month of *Ramzan,* when the Koran was first revealed;
(v) *Haj,* or pilgrimage to Mecca, once in a life-time at least.

A militant religion, Islam divided the world into two hostile camps, like the opposing tents of Bedouin Arabia, or the Mecca Idolatrous Establishment *versus* the Medina Islamic brotherhood—that of Islam (*dar-al-Islam*), the abode of peace, and that of war (*dar-al-harb*); death on the battlefield of holy war (*jihad*) ensured the martyr (*shahid*) straight entry into Paradise (*behest*) and special privileges there. Conquests achieved by Muslim arms were *fath*—opening the path for Islam.

The traditions of the Prophet, the *Hadith,* supplemented the *Koran*.. Muslim scholars developed elaborate schools of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology (*kalam*) round the basic doctrines. The whole constituted the orthodox school, the *sunnah,* the adherents of which were the *Sunnis.*

The proud Persians, inheritors of the traditions of Zarathustra, Cyrus and Darius, with their 2500 years of culture, felt humiliated at their defeat by the Arabs, and developed the schismatic *Shiah* doctrines, the central feature of which, apart from the passionate celebration of the Hasan-Hussain tragedy (their cruel death at Karbala, in the fight against the Umayyads, 680 A.D.), is the doctrine of the *Imam,* an infallible Being, partaking of divine attributes, sent by God in every age to guide the Faithful (*Muminin*). He is responsible to God only, and not to any person or the community (*umma*).

Out of the Shiah doctrines other sects arose. The "Twelvers" believed in Twelve Imams from Fatima (the Prophet's daughter) and her husband, Ali. The last Imam will come again as the *Mahdi* to restore justice and righteousness—an echo of the Old Egyptian Saviour idea, which was also incorporated in Jewish tradition as the *Messiah,* and in the Hindu as *Kalki avatara,* all of the same ultimate

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

inspiration. The "Seveners" or *Ismailis* believed in the son of Ismail bin Jafar (died 760 A.D.), and not his brother, Musa al-Kazim, as the Seventh Imam. They believed that the number seven is of magic importance (an old Sumerian belief—from the knowledge of the seven planets—including therein the sun and the moon), and (borrowing from the Greek Neo-Platonists) that there were seven emanations of the World Intellect—God, the universal mind, the universal soul, primeval matter, space, time, and the world of earth and man. A chain of manifestations led from the World Intellect, through Adam and Muhammad, to the Imams. Muhammad is not the last Prophet. The laws of the *sharia* (scriptures) do not apply to those with esoteric knowledge, to those who know the Koran's inner meaning. The Communistic Qarmatians grew out of the Ismailis. They appealed to the poor, and in 899 founded an independent state by the shores of the Persian Gulf. In 930 they captured Mecca itself, and their fury spread to Yemen, Khurasan, and distant Syria before they were drenched out in blood.

The Ismailis believed in the doctrine of *taqiyah,* or dissimulation, making it obligatory on the believer to profess outwardly, as a measure of protection, even another religion if necessary.[11]

The mystics of Islam, the *Sufis* (*Suf*-wool, wearers of coarse woollen dress), derived their inspiration from the Koran, and believed in personal unity with the Deity. The chains of various Muslims between man and God were, following Hitti, as follows:—[12]

God-Koran-Man (Sunni)
God-Imam-Man (Shiah)
God-Love-Man (Sufi)

The spirit of the Sufis is best represented by the following couplets of the 12th-13th century Spanish poet, ibn-Arabi.[13]

My heart is capable of every form!
A cloister for the monk, a fane for idols,
A pasture for gazelles, the votary's Kaaba,
The tables of the Torah, the Koran

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Love is the creed I hold ; wherever turn
Its courses, love is still my creed and faith.

The Sufis borrowed many practices from Christians, Buddhists, Neo-Platonists, Gnostics etc. Sufism had a pantheistic form also, and a self-annihilation doctrine, *fana,* akin to the Buddhist *Nirvana,* and to the Hindu Vedantic teaching of the absorption of the *atman* in *Brahman.* In the eyes of Islamic theologians it was rank heresy. The persian Sufi, al-Hallaj, was flogged, exposed on a gibbet and decapitated in 922 by the Abbasids for his *an-al-haqq* ("I am the Truth" the obverse of Uddalaka Aruni's *Tat-tvam-asi*—"Thou art that") doctrine.

It was this revolutionary, vibrant world of West Asia which impinged upon Kerala, Sindh and South Punjab.

Interaction Of Theo-Mercantile Arabo-Persian Muslim With Hindu Theo-Aristocratic In Kerala, Sindh And South Punjab

Kerala : The Arabs had traded with India from pre-Islamic times. The Muslim Arab colonists in Kerala were well-treated. Marrying high-caste Nair women, they came to be known as *mapillas* (Moplahs) or "sons-in-law" (literally—"bridegroom", "great child"). They had their own codes of law, mosques, congregational prayers, *imams* (*thangals*), *Kazis* administering their civil law, and *muftis* for theology. In the 9th century a King of Kodungallur (Cranganore), Cheraman Perumal, became Muslim and migrated to Arabia as Abdur Rahman Samri.[14] About 20% of Kerala's inhabitants are Muslim now[15], all by peaceful immigration, intermarriage or conversion. Some Muslims did very well. Sundara, the Pandya king of Madurai, had a Muslim adviser. Much later the Pandyan Ambassador at Kublai Khan's court was a Muslim.[16]

Sindh and South Punjab :

(i) *Configurational Dynamics* : Sindh and South Punjab fell to the Arabs largely because of internal tensions and Arab military superiority. The Sindhi *baniyas* were themselves shrewd trading people (indeed, from Indusian times), and hence there were little by way of Arab

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

trading settlements as in Kerala. The piracy of some Sindhi traders was the *casus belli* for an Arab invasion from Iraq, under Muhammad bin Qasim (712). Sind was divided. Hsuan Tsang in the 7th century had found the whole of North West India Mahayana Buddhist. With the lessening of Indian trade due to Arab bottling-up, there was regression to Theo-aristocracy (as we shall see in Chapter 22). A Brahman, Chach, slew his Shudra master, took his queen to wife, and oppressed the Buddhist peasants, Jats and Meds. They, as well as Buddhist merchants and artisans could wear no fine cloths, could not use saddles, and had to have their heads covered.[17] So the Jats, the Meds, the ordinary people, supported the Arabs and helped them. The Arabs were known to practise and preach equality and they "never broke promises".[18] Buddhist priests acted as fifth columnists and supplied boats for crossing the Indus.[19] They and the astrologers preached Arab invincibility, demoralising the soldiers.[20] The Arabs also had military superiority in their manouvreability, their fast horses and camels against the slow and ponderous elephants, their naphtha arrows (the original of the Hindu Medieval *agni-vana* or "fire-arrow" conception, inserted into the *Ramayana, Mahabharata, Puranas* etc), their catapults and their speed and flexibility of tactics.[21] In a brilliant campaign Muhammad defeated Dahir, Chach's son, and all the bravery of his fighting queen, the widowed Rani Bai, neither the first nor the last of India's warrior women-leaders, could save the situation.

Multan held out for 75 years. Here again the Buddhist artisans and peasants sided with the Arabs against their high-caste oppressors. The liberal Theo-Mercantile Arab masters gave full religious freedom to the Multanis and themselves administered the great Sun Temple.[22] But Hindu Afghanistan held out for over two centuries and fell later only to the Turks.

(ii) *Encounter Analysis*:

(a) *General*: In Chapter 1 it has been stated that when two societies interact, the following syndromes are useful

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

in analysing what happens—

Conquest—Resistance.
Propagation—Assimilation/Reconciliation.
Absorption—Appropriation/Transmutation.

Here "conquest" etc. is meant not only in the military sense but covering all activities.

(b) *Science and Technology*: Conquest-Resistance—The Arabs conquered, as has been stated, because of better military science and military technology. Propagation—Assimilation/Reconciliation—Not known. Absorption—Appropriation—The Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, in its Late Phase, was too much burdened with Past Tradition to react or appropriate anything. But the Theo-Mercantile Abbasid society avidly absorbed Indian science. Several astronomical works of Brahmagupta were translated into Arabic.[23] Al-Khwarizmi, as we have seen, adopted Sanskrit numerals, including the zero sign, and this was later appropriated by West Europe. In medicine both Charaka (Arabic *Sirak*) and Susruta (Arabic *Sasru* or *Sushrud*) were translated.[24]

Transmutation—Nil. (c) *Economics:* In this outlier of the Abbasid realm the Theo-Mercantile Arabs were too few. As in the case of the Sun Temple at Multan they had to give in to numbers and became absorbed into Theo-Aristocracy or Feudalism. (d) *Politics, Administration:* The same conclusion applies to politics and administration also. The Hindus were allowed a good deal of autonomy, and even revenue collection was entrusted to Hindu officials, known as the *amils*—The Arab rulers were absorbed. The half-Muslim, half-Hindu Sumra Rajputs (879-1025) and Samma Rajputs (1025-1360) then reared up their heads and took the place of the Arabs, a mixture of Resistance, Reconciliation and Appropriation. (e) *Society:* As the Arabs were so few they had to come to terms. Under the orders of Al-Hajjaj from Baghdad the Hindus were given the status of *zimmis,* tolerated non-believers, although so far no idolators had been treated as such. The special position of the Brahmans in Hindu society was also recognised. All this is "reconciliation", and very quick one at that.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(f) *Ideology—Propagation—Assimilation*: As the Theo-Mercantile Arabs were so few, and as they were also cosmopolitan and tolerant, they tolerated idol-worship. Any other course would not have worked also. They set up cultural centres at Mansurah, Debar etc., whence the Sunnis propagated Islam. But success came mostly to the Ismailis, with their *taqiyah* or dissimulation tactics, and their absorption of many Indian cultural features. The Buddhists then appropriated Islam through the Ismaili path, as the books of I.H. Qureshi (*The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* 610-1947, *Hague* 1962), Aziz Ahmad (*Studies in Islamic Culture in The Indian Environment,* Oxford 1964) etc. clearly show. The Ismailis depicted Ali as an *avatara* of Vishnu, to give an example of *taqiyah*.[25] Pir Sadruddin, of Bahawalpur, wrote a book in which he called the Prophet an incarnation of Brahma, Adam of Shiva and Ali of Vishnu. The chief organisers of the Ismailis in Punjab, Sind and Kashmir were respectively Seth Sham Das, Trikam and Seth Tulsi Das, all with Hindu names. An Ismaili from Yemen, variously known as Mullah Ali, Abdullah and Muhammad, came to the Court of Jayasimha Siddha Raja in Gujarat in the 12th century and converted many Lohana Rajputs and traders to the sect known as Bohras. Later, Nur-ud-din, known as Nur Satguru, came from Iran, probably in the 13th century, and converted a large number of people, specially in Gujarat.[26] The Ismailis were also active in the North-West, and the people of Hunza are still Ismailis. The process of conversion in Afghanistan, Peshawar region and Punjab by Ismailis was slow and covered centuries.[27] From the books of I.H. Qureshi, Aziz Ahmad (both cited), A. M. A. Shustery (*Outlines of Islamic Culture,* Bangalore, 1954) etc. it seems that after the Ismailis came the Sufis, organised in various orders or *silsilahs* and converted the Ismailis to Sunni Sufism. The Sunni theologians had little contact with the masses. Thus the process of conversion, by a mixture of Reconciliation and Absorption on the part of the Conquerors, and of Appropriation by the defeated, largely the leaderless (as we shall see in Chapter 22) Buddhists, had three phases:

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(i) conversion by heterodox sects like the Ismailis, using the doctrine of *taqiyah*;
(ii) conversion of Ismailis to Sunni Sufism;
(iii) conversion of the Sufis to orthodox Islam by the *mullahs*. The process was also a long-drawn out one.

(g) *Culture*: As in science and technology, it was the Arab-Mercantile Society which benefitted in culture also. The Theo-Aristocratic Hindu elite had no intellectual curiosity and we have no translations of Arabic works into Sanskrit or any Indian language. On the Arab side., the writings of Kautilya or Chanakya (Arabic, *Sheneq*), the *Hitopadesha,* parts of the *Mahabharata* etc. were translated into Arabic. The *Pancha Tantra* was translated via an Old Persian version by Ibn al-Muqaffa as *Kalila wa Dimna*. The story of *Sindbad the Sailor* was partly Indian.[28] The Arabs also learnt chess from India, and showed interest in Indian music, painting and sculpture.[29] Arab intellectuals were keenly interested in all aspects of Indian life. Ibn Nadim in his catalogue of Indian books mentions several works on Buddhism. There were many travelogues, starting from Sulaiman the merchant in the 9th century. Among those who took perspective views on India were such prominent thinkers as Al-Masudi and Al-Jahiz. Al-Masudi complimented Hindus as being the "cleverest among dark peoples".[31] Al-Jahiz regarded Hindus as the chief representative of dark-skinned peoples, remarkable for their achievements in astronomy, medicine architecture and the fine arts, for their invention of chess, and their taste for perfumes.[32]

The Arabs in Sindh absorbed some features of Indian dress, food etc., as was inevitable. And Reconciliation between the Conquerors and the Conquered shows itself in the sharing of common stories, folk-legends like *Sassi-Punnu,* and historical creations like the *Chach Namah.*

The Theo-Aristocratic Turko-Persian Muslim

General: The Theo-Mercantile Arabo-Persian Muslim did not proceed much beyond Sindh and the South Punjab. It was the Theo-Aristocratic Turko-Persian Muslim which

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

interacted with India and created the Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic Society. Hence we should have a look at this Theo-Aristocratic Turko-Persian Muslim civilization. It grew out of regression of the Theo-Mercantile Arabo-Persian, as we have seen. Bottled up by the Crusaders and Italian merchants, attacked at its two ends by Iberian Theo-Aristocrats and Turkish warrior-nomads, its 'mercantile' gave way to the 'aristocratic' while the 'theo' survived. Intellectual curiosity departed with feudalization. Henceforth there would be—

—In science and technology, only extension of techniques and borrowing, very little innovation.
—In economics, feudalisation.
—In society, close links between the aristocracy and priests to oppress the "lower classes". Also, subjugation of women.
—In politics constant efforts at centralisation, thwarted by feudal insubordination.
—In ideology, banishment of intellectual enquiry; conformity would reign supreme; while intellectual people would find outlet in futile and peurile scholasticism, leaving the others to mysticism and rituals.
—In culture, catholicism and universality will give way to stories and romances for aristocrats or books for priests and the devout to ponder on.

Such are the differences between the Theo-Aristocratic and Theo-Mercantile Basic Attitudes to Life.

Life Course: The life course can broadly be schematised as follows:—

Phase I— 11th-13th centuries. West Asia taken over by Islamicised Seljuk Turks, who also conquered Anatolia. Invested by Crusaders.

Phase II— 13th-14th centuries. Breakdown against warrior-nomad Mongols. Revival under Mameluke (Mamalik) Turks.

Phase III— 14th-18th centuries. A. New Empire under the Ottoman Turks. Conquest of Constantinople. B. Safavi Empire in Persia.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Phase IV— 18th century onwards. On the defensive against Western aggression and technology. Can survive only by borrowing Western technology.

Configurational Dynamics : In the first phase the external relations factor is the most important. The secret of Turkish military success was mainly the compound reflex bow, which gave it a much wider range than any other missile-type weapon known up till then. Their Islamisation gained for West Asia strong-armed adherents who protected it against repeated attacks by West European Theo-Aristocrats (the Crusaders).

The Turks went down before the Mongols in the second phase, a warrior nomad group mentioned, as have been the Turks, in Chapter 9. The Mongols specialized in combined operations of infantry and cavalry, in *blitz-krieg* tactics, in their mastery over logistics. Hence, they were universally victorious, in West Asia, Europe, India and China. But they were too few in numbers and were confronted by advanced civilizations. So they either had to withdraw or were absorbed, after their strength was sapped in the Easy and Soft Life as Theo-Aristocratic rulers. The Mongol rulers of Persia became Muslims and as the Il-Khans, patronised Islamic culture. Thus, both External and Internal Relations are important, in the Second Phase and in the latter, the most significant factor is the Absorption —Appropriation syndrome.

The Osmanli Turks and the Safavis "had a go" in trynig to produce another Universal Empire, in the Third Phase. The Turks recruited their warriors and administrators from all countries, including slaves from Europe, and built up the renowned *Yeni Cheri* (New Army—the Janissaries of European languages) strictly on merit, a corps which took Turkish arms twice right up to Vienna (1529, 1683). But Don John of Austria with his Spanish warships cleared the Mediterranean of Turkish pirates after the great naval victory at Lepanto (1571). This was the result of Iberian scientific advance in navigational matters including naval warfare. The Turks tried to break out into the Indian Ocean but were overwhelmingly defea-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

ted by another group of Iberians, the Portuguese, thrice—1536, 1554-56, 1585-89. They were thus contained in their territories. To the East were the Safavis of Persia, with whom there was a Hundred Years War (1587-1689) weakening both severely.

The Russians took advantage of this and in 1696 Peter the Great took Azov. Catherine the Great followed his policy in her aggressive sallies against Turkey between 1768 and 1774. Other European powers followed suit and the Turkish Empire was gradually dismembered over 150 years. The Safavis broke up more easily as a result of inner commotion, Afghans and Turkomans, Zands and Qajars taking over Iran.

Achievements (i) *Science and Technology*: There was no innovation. The Mamelukes and the Ottomans learnt the use of gunpowder and of artillery from Europe. In Safavi Persia the Shirley Brothers introduced artillery in the 16th century. Bila *Qayf*—Believing without Reasoning—inhibited West Asian advance and West Asians could survive only by borrowing Western defence technology.

(ii) *Economics*: The whole area was feudalised. This is exemplified by the introduction of a feudal military land grant system, instead of money wages, for royal servants, by Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Persian Vizier of the 11th century Seljuk Turkish ruler of Iran, Malik Shah.

(iii) *Society*: The said Nizam-ul-Mulk's dictum about nobles and priests is significant—*mamlakat wa din hamchu do biradar and*—rulership and faith are always two brothers—brothers to oppress the rest. Women were shoved back to the home and could not now venture out without covering themselves completely with loose black drapings (the *burqa*) which hid the entire face also. If we hear of some of them now and then, as we do, it is because of the extraordinary capability that some members of the female sex have always shown, no matter what the circumstances were.

(iv) *Politics and Administration*: In the Third phase the Turks introduced the brilliant *millet* system. Each ethno-cultural group, *millet* (community), will have its

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

own social usages, customs and autonomy within the broad framework of Turkish rule. They would bear no arms, as would the Turks, who would protect them, the *raiyeh* (or flock), of the erstwhile Warrior Nomad Aristocrats. This system also minimised possibilities of revolt—the non-Turkish communities were disarmed, and autonomy largely took away the causes for resentment and offence.

(v) *Ideology*: In the first phase the *Sufi* orders and dervishes were prominent. They initiated the Neo-Muslim Turks into a warlike, mystic form of Islam, which is best typified in the teachnigs of Haji Bektashi of Khurasan in the Second Phase, teachings much followed by the *ghazis* (*"holy victorious warriors"*), who conquered and Turkified Anatolia. The same spirit bred the Senussi sect of military monks in Libya. In the Third Phase there was a new rule of conformity, both in the Turkish and Persian Empires, typified by the Shaikh-al-Islam in Constantinople and the Shaikh-al-Islam Bah-al-Din (16th-17th century) at the Safavi Court.

During the Fourth Phase, the period of breakdown and defensive mentality against the West, arose saviours like the Wahhabis and Jamal-al-din al-Afghani, and a Transmutation movement under the Bab and Bahaism. The Wahhabi movement (18th century) started in the deserts of Central Arabia—a retreat-into-the-shell defence mechanism which blamed everything on departures from the Koran—cult of saints, veneration of shrines, visit to tombs, use of the rosary. Extreme puritans, they advocated complete prohibition of alcoholic drinks, of tobacco and of the wearing of silk clothes. Al-Afghani (1838-96), a Persian, preached Pan-Islamism for the restoration of the lost glories of Islam, and a degree of liberal modernisation. The Bab (early 19th century), also a Persian, declared himself the *Mahdi* (Messiah) and preached a new doctrine which came to be known as Bahaism. He taught, among other things, the equality of the sexes and the abolition of the veil. His followers advanced still further, stressed humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism and pacifism and aspired to make Bahaism a world religion.

(vi) *Culture*: In the first phase, the new features

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

were the tomb-mosque association, copied from Egypt[33], with its Pharaonic traditions in this regard; and the dome on a square, on a squinch, over walls with pointed arches, which solved the contradiction between the square foundation and the round dome, and so gave the mosque a new spaciousness, well typified by the Congregational Mosque (*Jami Masjid*) of Isfahan, of the 11th century. In the second phase, in the Il-Khan territory of Persia we have Persian mystics like Saadi (12th-13th century) and Hafiz (14th century), both of Shiraz. Sadi's *Gulistan* ("Rose Garden") and *Bustan* ("Orchard") are master-pieces of Persian literature, the former in prose, the latter in poetry. Hafiz is the undisputed master of the poetry of love and wine, half-erotic, half-Sufi. Nizami (13th century) wrote the *Khamsah* ("Collection of Five Poems") or Five Treasures, one of which deals with the old theme of Majnun (one who went mad) and Layla, the two Romeo-Juliet type desert Arab lovers who were kept apart by family feuds and united only in death. Al-Rumi wrote mystic poetry. This phase also saw the development of miniatures and of manuscript illustration.

In the third phase we have in Iran, Jami, a prolific writer in both prose and verse, the author of several *Diwans* and other works. One of his poems deals with the Biblical theme of Joseph and Potiphar's wife—*Yusuf u Zulaikha*. This period also saw the greatest of master miniaturists, Bihzad of Herat (15th-16th century). In Turkey it was a glorious period of poetry, biographies and histories, known as the Tulip Age, but it did not influence India much as Turkish was not widely studied here. Neither did the architecture of Sinan in the 16th century (originally a Christian slave from Asia Minor) the creator of the magnificent Sulaimaniyeh and Salimiyeh mosques. Constantinople was too far, Iran much nearer home.

In the fourth phase "Western" influence overshadowed everything else.

Periodization of the Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic

It has been stated in Chapter 1 that when one society of two interacting ones is militarily stronger, but not to

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

such an extent as to destroy the weaker one, the following sequence can be discerned :—

Empire
Breakdown
New Empire
Breakdown

This is fairly easy to understand. The stronger society overpowers the weaker, but cannot deliver a knock-out blow, as the Spaniards did to the Aztecs under Cortes, and to the Incas under Pizarro. The weaker society, penned below the stronger, throws it off and rears itself up. Braced to the struggle, the stronger group makes another effort, wins and holds on in spite of the struggling blow, but becomes exhausted and finally has to loosen its grip. It is as if the man underneath throws the top-man aside and gives him a knock-out blow.

We have seen that the theorem of Empire-Breakdown —New Empire-Breakdown applies in the case of the Turkish Theo-Aristocratic. It applies elsewhere also, where the conditions are similar showing that *like situations evoke like responses all over the world.*

Three illustrations are given below :—

	Assyrian Theo-Aristocratic	Aztec Theo-Aristocratic	Mongol Theo-Aristocratic
Phase I	15th-12th centuries B.C. First Assyrian Empire—most noted figure, Tiglath-Pileser I.	7th-11th centuries A. D. Toltec-Aztec Military-religious Empire of Teotihuacan.	1115-1260 A.D. Period of unified Mongol Empire—Jenghiz Khan, Subatu, Batu, Hulagu, Mangu.
Phase II	12th-9th century—Breakdown.	11th-14th century, Breakdown. Chichimec rule.	1260-1360 Breakdown. Division of Mongol Empire.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Phase III	9th-7th centuries B.C. New Empire—great conquerors-the glories of Nineveh.	14th-16th century. New Aztec Empire.	1360-1480 New Empire under the Turk Timur, inheritor of Mongol traditions.
Phase IV	7th century B.C. onwards Revolts, breakdown, fall to the Medes and the Persians—knock-out blow.	16th century Conquest by the Spanish Conquistadores under Cortes aided by disaffected subject peoples—knock-out blow.	16th-17th century. Breakdown. Defeat of the Mongol Golden Horde and its dissolution. Mongols submit to the Manchus. —knock-out blow.

The same periodization is observed in the case of the Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic also:—

Phase I	Turkish Paramountcy	1200-1400 A.D.
Phase II	Breakdown	1400-1530 A.D.
Phase III	Mughal Paramountcy	1530-1700 A.D.
Phase IV	Breakdown	1700 onwards.

As against this, the Aryo-Indians produced a new civilisation, along with the Adivasis, by coming to terms with them. *Civilizations are always built up on cooperation, not on conflicts.*

The Empire-Breakdown-New Empire-Breakdown Theorem does not nullify the Four-Fold Phase Variation seen in the case of the Aryo-Indians—Origins of New Traditions, Their Growth, Their Full Maturity, Their Closure due to the excessive weightiness of tradition. We shall see that this applies to fields other than the military one to the Muslim-Indian also.

The Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic-Political Life Course-Configurational Dynamics

Thrust of the Treatment:

(i) The Muslim-Indians had it much easier than the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Aryo-Indians, who had to clear the jungles, defeat or tame the Adivasis, develop the land, build roads and towns as they went along.

(ii) As there was already a highly civilized society the conquering Turks had to be satisfied by a paramountcy, by indirect rule, not direct rule. Their victories, like those of the Mughals after them, were due to superior military technology and tactics.

(iii) The Turks controlled only the nerve centres, the cities, which were their control points.

(iv) *Razm* (war) and *bazm* (pleasure) ruined them, as it had done the Kshatriyas, and like them they also disappeared, *as* Turks.

(v) As in the case of the Aryo-Indians (from 1800 B.C. to 600 A.D.) there was a continuous source of foreign supply of soldiers and captains, leading to increased military strength.

(vi) The Turko-Mongols or Mughals, came naturally, as such a foreign wave. If the Turks are compared to the Bronze Age Aryans the Mughals can be compared to the Iron Age Aryans.

(vii) In the Deccan it came to be Deccani-Maratha Paramountcy; elsewhere Mughal-Rajput Paramountcy.

(viii) The South escaped Muslim-Indian political domination but there were raids.

(ix) *La Dolce Vita,* the Soft & Easy life, sapped the strength of the Mughals, as it had done that of the Kshatriyas.

(x) In the easy conditions of India the defences came to be unguarded.

(xi) The seas were never under Turkish or Mughal control.

(xii) The Theo-Aristocratic Turks and Mughals were much less flexible than the Theo-Mercantile Arabs. This prevented any real rapprochement between the Conquerors and the Conquered. There was only an uneasy coexistence.

Political Life Course : Phase I (11th-14th century). The Turkish paramountcy began from the 11th century A. D. There was hard fighting all over North India between 1174

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and 1206 before the Turks could establish their suzerainty. The Turks won because of their military superiority—better horses, metal stirrups, compound reflex bow with wide range, better trained soldiers, better co-ordination, superior tactics, meritocracy. They were feared and admired in India as *Ashwapatis* or *hammiras* ("Lords of Horses"), and the cavalry charges of the *sawaran-i-muqatala* were famous. The Indian tactics were the headlong frontal attacks of feudal levies, a motley crowd, armed mobs fighting without forethought or order, without unity of command. Also, they used elephants, which in panic trampled on their own men. The Turks used flanking and encircling tactics to push home victories. This whole topic will be dealt with, more fully, a little later.

Sabuktigin captured Kabul in 988. Mahmud of Ghazni made many raids between 999 and 1026. Muhammad Ghori established the Delhi Sultanate after defeating Prithvi Raj Chawhan at Tarain in 1192 and Jayachandra Rathor at Kanauj in 1194. His lieutenants conquered the whole of the Gangetic Valley. After the Mamalik slaves came the nondescript Khaljis.[34] The Slaves had been satisfied with paramountcy. Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316) conquered Rajasthan and Maharashtra and tried centralisation, but failed. The Khaljis gave place to the Turkish-Jat ("Qarauna") Tughlaks. Muhammad Tughlak (1321-51) tried centralization again, and failed. After the next ruler, Firuz, the Turkish Sultanate broke up into a number of principalities.

The "Turks" consisted of Turks as well as Afghans and Afghanised Turks (Ghurids, Khaljis etc.) and Khorasanians.[35] They lived in fortified towns like Multan, Lahore and Delhi, leaving the rural areas to the rule of the Hindu *rajas, ranas and rawats.* Even the village headmen, the *chaudharis, muqaddams* and *khots,* kept small armies.[36] The position of the Turkish governors was often precarious, and the extent of authority varied from person to person.[37] A most intimate communal life developed in these forts, armed camps in strange surroundings in this *dar-al-harb*[38], like the Aryo-Indian settlements in the earliest stages of their colonisation.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Phase II (15th century) : The country was too large and too unhomogeneous in population and culture for a single paramountcy. Nevertheless, the Turkish paramountcy lasted for 200 years, a good record indeed. The Mongols in 1245 weakened the Sultanate and Timur in 1398 hastened its decentralisation—into the Heartland at Delhi, where ultimately the Afghan Lodis (1451-1526) came to hold sway, Malwa, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bengal, Khandesh, and the Bahmani Sultanate in the Deccan, which again broke up into five principalities, Berar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar. In the Deccan the rule was really that of the Deccani Muslim and the Maratha, as we shall see in Chapter 19. The breakdown of the Sultanate meant Hindu Reassertion, the Sisodias in Mewar from the 15th century and Raja Ganesh for a short time in Bengal from 1410 to 1431. The son of the latter, Jadu, became a Muslim, apparently out of love for a Muslim girl, Asmantara, "Star of the Sky", but even without this romantic episode Muslim-Indian military strength would have restored their rule. Some of the Muslim-Indian rulers, like Ahmad Shah of Gujarat (1411-41), the founder of Ahmadabad, and Sikander Lodi of Delhi (1489-1517), the founder of Agra, were intolerant of the Hindu-Indians, but they were more than matched by reconciliators like Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir (1420-70), and Hussain Shah (1493-1518) and Nusrat Shah (1518-33) of Bengal.

Phase III (16th-17th centuries) : Mughal-Rajput Paramountcy and *Pax Mughalia.*

Ibrahim Lodi's attempts at centralisation (the third Muslim-Indian effort, after Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad Tughlak) evoked feudal insubordination. The Turko-Mongol (Mughal) Babar was called from Kabul and he established the beginnings of the Mughal Empire by two victories, at Panipat in 1526 (against the Afghans under Ibrahim Khan Lodi) and at Kanwah in 1527 against the Rajputs under Rana Sanga). The Mughals won because of military superiority—firearms, artillery, camouflaged trenches, better training, the skilful use of reserves (*tulghama*) for encircling and giving the *coup de grace.* This will be further dealt with a little later. There

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

was, soon however, an Afghan interlude, 1540-56, with the brilliant, able and just Sher Shah the Great in control (1540-45) for enough time to make his mark on Indian history. Bairam Khan, a half-Rajput, regained control of North West India for the Mughals at the Second Battle of Panipat, defeating the Afghans under the Hindu Himu at 1556. Akbar the Great conquered Malwa, Rajputana, Gujarat, Orissa, Bengal, Khandesh, Sindh, Kandahar, Baluchistan. Two of the chief and most valiant opponents of Akbar were women—Rani Durgavati of Gondwana and Chand Sultana of Ahmadnagar. The others were Pratap Singh of Mewar and the *Bara Bhuiyas* ("Twelve Lords"), Afghan and Bengali, of Bengal. Akbar laid the foundation of Mughal success by a policy of Mughal-Rajput *entente cordiale* and Mughal-Rajput Paramountcy (1562), sealed by marriages with the Amber (Jaipur) family. In 1564 he abolished the *jizya*, the poll-tax on non-Muslims, a measure of great psychological impact. Akbar's half-Rajput son, Jahangir, practically left administration to his wife, the famour Nur Jahan, who brushed aside the veil, had coins issued under her name, gave audience, and left Jahangir only to sign and seal papers. Nurjahan-Jahangir brought rebellious Bengal to heel in 1612, took Kangra in 1633, Ahmadnagar in 1633 (after being harried much by the Abyssinian guerilla leader, Malik Ambar) and waged an unsuccessful war with Bijapur. Shahjahan failed against Bijapur and Golkonda, (1653) being matched by the same type of military power. By weakening Ahmadnagar, Golkonda and Bijapur the Mughals indirectly strengthened the Maratha feudatories of the Deccan Sultanates and dug their own graves.

Phase IV (18th century) : The failures against Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda gave a shattering blow to the myth of Mughal military *charisma* and invincibility. Aurangzeb, who ruled from 1658 to 1707, mad matters worse. He was much more of a hawk than Akbar, Nurjahan-Jahangir and Shahjahan, who had been Realists, and with much less of their military might. The French travellers, Bernier, had a poor opinion of his army, saying that it moved without order, with the irregularity of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

a herd of animals.[41] Officers and soldiers had their wives, concubines, and hordes of undisciplined servants with them, and only about one-fifth of the army were combatants.[42] Aurangzeb conquered Cooch Behar, but the success in Assam was only temporary. Aurangzeb was a good and brave warrior but inefficient in civil administration. Like Ashoka and Harsha and Philip II of Spain, he could not delegate, and the Empire was too vast to be ruled by a single man. As a result, the provincial officials, *subahdars* and *faujdars,* and similar dignitaries did whatever they liked, and there was no effective punishment, as Khafi Khan testifies.

So Resistance and Reassertion reared its head. In the North West there was a period of turbulence, revolts by Yusufzais, Afridis, Khattaks etc. from 1667 onwards. But a conciliatory policy was followed and the firm rule of Amin Khan and his wife Sahibji kept the north-west quiet.

Aurangzeb's Rajput policy was foolish. Jaswant Singh of Marwar had sided with Dara, against Aurangzeb, in the succession struggle. He subsequently switched over, in time, to Aurangzeb, who "forgave him" (there was nothing else that he could do). But Aurangzeb had a long memory. When Jaswant Singh died in Jamrud in 1678, fighting Aurangzeb's war in the North West, as he had no son (a posthumous one was born later), the Mughal Emperor occupied Marwar, applying the theory of escheat, or *bait-ul-mal.* This led to the disastrous Thirty Years War 1678-1708. In rage he reimposed the *jizya* in 1679, thus giving a severe psychological blow to Hindu-Indians, and breaking up the Mughal-Rajput paramount-policy of Akbar the Great. Some Mughals under Aurangzeb's own son, Akbar, sided with Marwar (1680).

Now there was Resistance everywhere. During Akbar's time the land revenue was one-third of the produce. By Shahjahan's time the demand rose to one-half. To meet the costs of wars, monumental buildings, etc. there were extra demands and rack-renting. Many peasants absconded, became domestic servants in towns, or rebels. Production declined, leading to a vicious cycle of more rack-renting, more resentment, more rebellion. It was in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

this milieu that the Jats became practically independent under Gokla in 1669, the Bundellas under Chhatrasal in 1671.

The Mughal-Rajput failure against Bijapur and Golkonda encouraged the Maratha feudatories to Reassert themselves. After continuous fighting from 1656 to 1674 Shivaji the Great became an independent ruler at Raigarh. The indomitable Aurangzeb took Bijapur and Golkonda in 1687. He then tried to conquer the Marathas in a Twenty Years War (1687-1707), but was foiled by Tara Bai, the doughty *de facto* woman successor of Shivaji the Great.

The continuity of empires is a thing to wonder at, not their downfall. Generally empires are based on superior military technology, and superior organisation. When superior military strength goes a super-imposed centralisation gives place to decentralisation. This is what happened to the Mughal Empire.

There were external encroachments also, as the frontier was now unguarded—Nadir Shah and the Turkomans —Persians in 1738-39 ; and the nine invasions of the Afghan, Ahmad Shah Abdali, 1747-60, leaving Punjab affairs disorganised, with the Sikh *Khalsa* ultimately filling the power vacuum.

At Delhi the Hindusthani, Iranian and Turanian noblemen of the court quarrelled like Kikenny cats. The Noblemen of the court quarrelled like Kilkenny cats. The figurehead emperors indulged in *la dolce vita* to the full, especially during the reigns of Jahandar Shah and his mistress, Lal Kumari, and of Muhammad Shah Rangila ("the Gay") (1719-48).

No wonder the Empire broke up. The Jats became formally independent under Suraj Mal at Bharatpur. Feudal insubordination now raised its head. Hyderabad broke away under Chin Quilich Khan, Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk (1724) ; Avadh under Saadat Khan (1724) ; and Bengal under Alivardi Khan (1740).

But decentralisation did not mean breakdown, as studies like K. K. Datta's *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century* (1707-1813) (Calcutta, 1961) and Mrs Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi's

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India (1556-1803) (Bombay, undated) etc. show. Some towns like Delhi and Lahore declined. But Delhi was still big, Agra flourishing, and Benares and Patna positively booming due to much trade with European business houses in Bengal. There was no failure of water supply, nor of provisioning anywhere, no large scale emigrations from place to place. There were indeed difficulties in goods transport, and decentralisation meant multiple levies, like *rahdaris, zakats* etc. There were also Maratha raids. Still, there was a large volume of internal trade, according to foreign testimony.[43] Indeed, we have an exaggerated picture of the difficulties of the period, created by frustrated European merchants, used so far to the ease of *Pax Mughalia*. This conclusion is borne out by the vigorous cultural and artistic life of this period, as we shall see later.

Configurational Dynamics:

Phase 1 (11th-14th century):

(i) Technics: The military science, technology and tactics of the invaders constituted the crucial factor which gave them victories over Indians.

(ii) Geography: The Aryo-Indians took 1200 years (1800 B.C. to 600 B.C.) to clear the dense Gangetic jungles, build roads, cities, and with the Adivasis, create a new civilization; it took them another 1200-1400 years before this civilization reached something of the form which is known to most people. Now the Turks could utilise all the effort of 2500 years to ride straight from Peshawar to Bengal, along the highway, in about 30 years.

(iii) Internal Relations: The Turkish Muslims who came were Theo-Aristocrats. The soldier and the priest, as in the case of the Aryo-Indians before, had to be always closely knit to establish a lasting foothold in India, which the Turkish Muslims did. They always remembered, consciously or unconsciously, Nizam-ul-Mulk's saying—*mamlakat wa din hamchu do biradar and* (rulership and faith are always two brothers). Overwhelmed by numbers in a strange country the Turkish Muslims did not bite off more than they could chew—they left the economic structure severly alone. It remained what it was

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

before the Turkish invasion:—[44] feudal/nearly self-sufficient villages; trade, in grain in some cases, oil, salt, cloth, pulses and luxuries; guild private industry; *sheth* as money-lenders and financiers, working through agents —*dalals* and *gomashtas*—in the matter of giving advances (*dadani*) and collecting debts and discounting bills of exchange (*hundis*); the financiers remained largely Hindu—*banias* of Gujarat and *bhai-bandis* of Sindh; Khatris and Bhatias of the Punjab, Marwaris of Rajasthan, Chettis of Tamilaham etc. The new addition was the institution of royal workshops, the *Karkhanas,* catering to the need for luxuries of the *umra* (nobility). As before, the caste-bound priest-ridden Hindus did not generally venture out on foreign trade, and this was largely controlled by foreigners, again as before, Persians, Arabs, Armenians.

The Turkish-Indian struggles were not religious. Muslim fought against Muslim, as did the Seljuk Turks against Ghazni, and Khwarezm against the Ghoris. When Ahmad Niyaltigin rebelled against Masud Ghuznavi, the Hindu general Tilak was sent to subdue him.[45] Fakir-i-Mudabbir, a writer of those times, has described five types of wars, but he does not put the Turkish wars in the religious category.[46] Muhammad Ghori, the conqueror of North India, was, in his early life, a Karrami, half-way between Mahayana Buddhism and Islam.[47]

(iv) Tradition: Tradition was well-set in Islam by the time the Turks came to India, as we have seen. The Turks who came to India were Theo-Aristocrats, zealous Neo-Moslems, and not intellectual, cosmopolitan Theo-Mercantile people. Along with *Bila Qayf*—believing without reasoning, went the doctrine of *la bida fils Islam*—no innovation in Islam, in their culture. Hence a set, alien tradition was being planted in an indifferent country. This, and the other factors in Configurational Dynamics led, not to direct Turkish rule but to Turkish Paramountcy along with the Rajput *ranas* rais and *rawats* in the North and West, Bengali and other landholders in the East, and the fiercely independent Maratha *deshmukhs* in the Deccan.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Phase 2 (15th century) :

(i) Geography: Although the Turks created a centralised paramountcy on the foundations built by the Aryo-Indians, even this they could not maintain. One of the factors which thwarted their ambitions, as it had done those of the Mauryas and the Guptas, was the immense size of the country.

(ii) Internal Relations: This size led to feudal insubordination, as we have seen. But the advantages following paramountcy and the West and Central Asian patrimony of the Turko-Indians helped in international trade, both by land and sea. Silk and cotton textiles were exported from Gujarat and Bengal ports, according to Varthema (early 16th century) to 'Persia, Tartary, Syria, Barbary, that is Africa, Arabia Felix, Ethiopia' and other places.[48] The chief imports were thoroughbreds from Dhofar (extremity of Yemen), Kis, Hormuz and Aden, and mules from Persia, by sea, and by land from Azaq in Turkestan.[49] The trade was largely in the hands of foreigners, chiefly Arabs,[50] but its effect must have been felt in the country as a whole. It created a certain climate of anti-Establishmentarianism which helped the anti-orthodox *Bhakti* religions, which we shall deal with later.

(iii) External Relations: The Mongols and Timur weakened paramountcy. The former troubled the Turko-Indians from 1245. Balban met them boldly, defeated them, and established a chain of border forts to contain them. Jalal-ud-din Khalji (1290-96), bought them off, gave them high office and tried to assimilate them. Fresh hordes of Mongols appeared in 1298 under Qutlugh Khwaja but were defeated by Zafar Khan and Ulugh Khan. A century later Timur, a Barlas Turk, with Mongol allies, utterly destroyed Delhi and gave the *coup de grace* to the Turkish Paramountcy.

The Indo-Turks were weak on the seas and dared not contest the mastery of the Indian Ocean with the Portuguese. Mahmud Bigarha (1458-1511), the warrior-king of Gujarat, tried conclusions with them on the seas in 1507 but was roundly defeated. Thereafter, the Portu-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

guese were the unchallenged masters of the sea-borne trade in the West.

Phase 3 (16th-17th centuries) :

(i) Science and technology: After the Indo-Turkish break-down came the Mughals. They won mainly because of their artillery, which the Indians did not have. This is symbolised by the fact that the Emperor Akbar was himself a skilled ordnance and artillery mechanic. This aspect will be dealt with in the next section.

(ii) External Relations: The Mughals, Turko-Mongols, Islamised by religion and Persianised by culture, were swept out of Samarkand and Bokhara by the Uzbeks, with their better use of firearms by solid infantry. Babar, a descendant of Timur and of Jenghiz Khan (on his mother's side) fled and began to rule from Kabul. The Safavi ruler of Iran, Ismail, was his protector, as the *Vsyemirnaya Istoriya* has pointed out,[51] and but for the Safavis the Uzbeks may have swept across the defenceless frontiers of India. Humayun, like Babar, remained a *protege* of the Safavis. Akbar followed a pragmatic policy. He made peace with Abdullah Khan Uzbek and secured his northern borders. He took Kandahar but otherwise did not annoy the Iranians. Nurjahan-Jahangir were, on the whole, pro-Iranian. Shahjahan fought the Uzbeks to safeguard Kabul, as Professor Sayyid Nurul Hasan has pointed out,[52] and secured the frontier at the Hindu Kush.[53] The Anatolian Turks and the Portuguese fought for the mastery of the Arabian Sea, in which the former were roundly trounced thrice, in 1536, 1554-56 and 1585. The Mughals respected Portuguese sea-power, but on land they chastised them, when they became a menace from their base at Hugli in Bengal (1631-32).

(iii) Internal Relations: Turkish rule was really Turko-Rajput rule in the North and Turko-Maratha rule in the Deccan. The Turks themselves disappeared as a group, and were absorbed by the Afghans. Thus, the Mughals had to face the Afghans and the Rajputs in North India. They wrenched the throne from the Afghans, and so had to conciliate the Rajputs, as Shah Tahmasp of Iran advised them. This is the background to the famous, formal policy of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Mughal-Rajput paramountcy, begun by Akbar, succeeding the informal Turkish-Rajput one. Nurjahan-Jahangir won over all the Rajputs, as well as the Afghans, by their conciliatory policy. Sher Shah the Afghan and Akbar created an efficient bureaucracy, and the latter started the mystique of the Emperor, with his daily *jharoka darshan*. This continued right through Mughal times, and much of the organisation and the mystique of the ruler has passed, through Mughal *padshahs* to British viceroys.

Enough revenues were generated to usher in an Age of Magnificence (as Romila Thapar terms it), especially under Shahjahan. But heavy spending on wars and monuments led to the state share of the peasants' produce being gradually raised from one-third to one-half.[54] This led to peasant discontent, which insubordinate feudal lords fanned and utilised to further their power. As trade was marginal to the economy it did not help to alleviate the misery.[55] [56]

Phase 4: (17th-18th centuries)

(i) Science and Technology: Military technology declined. Even during Akbar's days the best artillery officers had been *Rumis* (Turks i.e. from Rum or Constantinople). Later they were largely Eurasian Portuguese. The Mughals, like the Hindus, neglected science and technology, including military technology. Indian ordnance was not so good as that of Turkey.[57] And Terry was disappointed with Indian swords in the 17th century, for unlike English swords they could not be bent without breaking.[58] Thus, the fatal Theo-Aristocratic Indian failing in technology, and specially military technology, was apparent even at the time of Jahangir, when the Mughal sun was shining resplendently.

(ii) External Relations: Weakness in naval technology led to European encroachment, the chief being the English and the French, who opened factories. By their naval victory over the Portuguese in 1612 at Swally Hole near Surat, the British became the Naval Protectors of the Mughal Empire. But when they tried to fight the Mughals on land (the Child Brothers' War, 1686-90), they found that they were not strong enough. But all through the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

17th century the Mughals were forced to give trading concessions to their English Naval Protectors, who applied the more efficient and ruthless business methods of the Rational-Mercantile Stage (Stage IX) and gave some of their profits, by treaty arrangements, to the Mughal viceroys and nobles. Job Charnock established a military-naval base at the new city of Calcutta in 1690, a city which he founded, and acquired the *zamindari* of Calcutta and neighbouring areas in 1698.

The late Mughals neglected the North Western defences, enabling Nadir Shah's Turkomans and Persians to conquer Delhi and sack it in 1738-39, taking away the Peacock Throne, the Koh-i-Noor, many jewels, cash etc. Nadir Shah was followed by the Afghan, Ahmad Shah Abdali, who invaded India nine times between 1747 and 1769. But neither Nadir Shah nor Ahmad Shah felt strong enough to try to conquer India.

(iii) Internal Relations: The lack of confidence of the Turkoman-Persians and Afghans was not due to anything that the ruling elite of India did. They tried their best to make India as weak as possible by their internecine quarrels. There were three groups—the Hindustani (including the Afghan), the Turanian and the Iranian. And there were the Hindu nobles. There were, correspondingly, several permutations and combinations in the interminable quarrels, based not on principles, but on unadulterated opportunism and will-to-power. In this milieu the Emperors became puppets, ultimately of the Marathas, and the Empire broke up into a number of principalities. But this did not, as stated earlier, lead to loss of trade or population shifts etc. although the disappearance of *Pax Mughalia* and the levy of many imposts by the decentralised states led to irritation among European merchants, who gave rise to the myths of breakdown and chaos. Romila Thapar has pointed out that in the decentralised regions there was an improvement in local administration, and that goods continued to be transported at low costs and even insured. All this, she says, "hardly suggests a period of chaos and disorder". "Was it", she asks, "a breakdown of the total social structure or was it an aftermath of a period of super-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

imposed unification of a large area under imperial power." ?[59] We have seen that the researches of Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi, K. K. Datta etc. indicate that it was latter. There is no evidence of general break-down, large-scale emigrations, failure of water-supply, provisioning etc. anywhere, and Patna and Benares were "boom" towns, thriving on the trade with the British from Calcutta. And in this decentralised milieu a rich cultural life survived and flourished, as we shall see later.

Reasons for Turkish and Mughal Victories

India resisted the Turks strongly. Sabuktigin had to fight Jayapala twice before he got his foothold in the north-west, the second time against a confederation including Ajmer, Delhi, Kalanjar and Kanauj. Mahmud of Ghazni had to fight Jayapala of Bhatinda, and Anandapala (at the head of a confederacy). Muhammad Ghori had to fight Prithviraj Chauhan twice. Mulraja of Anhilwara had, earlier, defeated him. Jayachandra resisted Muhammad Ghori at Chandwar near Kanauj. The Turkish progress caused panic, according to the testimony of the Tibetan monk, Chag Lo-Tsa-ba Chos-rja-dpal *alias* Dharmasvamin, who lived in Bihar in 1234-36 A.D.[60] The aged Sena ruler of Bengal-Bihar, Lakshman Sen, abandoned Bihar, perhaps as well, as many Buddhists helped the Turks, as they had, earlier, the Arabs in Sindh, according to Lama Taranath.[61] The Turks, by their speed and guile, surprised Lakshman Sen at Nadiya, while Muhammad Sheran, according to the researches of Ahmad Hasan Dani,[62] defeated the Sen forces in the jungles. Lakshman Sen managed to hold on to East and South Bengal, criss-crossed with rivers, from Vikrampura (later Dacca) and his successors long resisted the Turks.[63] Balban had to fight refractory rajas in the Doab and Rajasthan. Alauddin had to fight hard in Maharashtra and Rajasthan (Ranthambhor, Chitor etc.); Malik Kafur had to reconquer Maharashtra. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq had to fight hard in Warangal (Andhra), Firuz in Jajnagar (Orissa) and again in Nagarkot (Kangra), which had been conquered earlier by Muhammad Tughlaq.

These examples show that the Indians fought very hard

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and continued resisting all over 200 years. Yet the whole sub-continent fell in about 30 years—12 years for the North-West (1174-86) and 15 years for North India (1191-1206). What is the reason for the astonishing military success of the Turks? It is practically wholly military. Harbans Mukhia estimates that only about 12,000 soldiers came to India initially for the conquest.[64] So the success was not due to numbers. It was because of fine large horses and excellent horsemanship, metal stirrups, the compound reflex bow with its wide range, better trained soldiers, fine coordination, and superior tactics.

The Central Asian horse, tall, with a long narrow body, long thin legs and neck, the product of thousands of years of breeding and training, could often cover 650 miles in the waterless desert in five days.[65] The Turk knew how to use this horse. Richly accoutred, superbly mounted, these *Turk-Sawars* (Turkish Horsemen) were famous for the speed and vigour of their cavalry charges.[66] Their composite reflex bow of two pieces joined together by a metal band, could discharge deadly arrows at a range of 80 to 100 paces, piercing cuirass and shield with ease.[67] The Turks were clad in armour, and had long spears and long sharp swords. R. C. Smail says that they could use the bow from the saddle, and shoot without halting or dismounting. Even in retreat they were able to turn in the saddle and shoot at their pursuers.[68] The Rajputs also had horses, but were not quite at home on it at that time, unlike their White Hun ancestors. They dismounted when pressed hard, and fought on foot.[69] The Guptas had used cavalry against the Whits Huns, having probably learnt of its effectiveness from them, but this practice died with their downfall, according to Professor Satish Chandra and Professor R. S. Sharma.[70] Perhaps the reason is that sub-tropical India is not a good breeder of horses, an animal of the temperate steppes. Arabian (*Tajika*) and Turkish (*Turuska*) breeds, as well as the Iranian, were much sought after.[71]

A factor of crucial importance was the Turkish use of metal stirrups. According to Lynn White, it was India which first developed a stirrup, initially a loose surcingle, and then a big toe stirrup[72], but this discovery was not

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

followed up. The metal stirrup was apparently invented in China[73], like the compound reflex bow, known even from Shang times[74] but the Turks were the first to use these effectively, as exhibted in many places, for instance when they defeated the Byzantine army at Manzikert (1071)[75]. They also had horse shoes, and leather saddles within iron frames. The Turkish cavalryman could thus manipulate his position on horseback so that his weight was felt lightly by the horse, increasing its speed and tracative power. The Norman military superiority in Europe was also due to similar reasons.[76] The Guptas, fine horsemen, apparently did not use stirrups on any considerable scale, as at Ajanta all the horsemen are shown without stirrups.[77] The Turks proudly realised all this. Balban used to boast that 6-7000 of his horsemen could destroy 1,000,000 of the *paiks* (footmen) and *dhanuks* (bows) of the Rais and the Ranas[78]. In contemporary Sanskrit literature the Turkish Sultans were known as *Ashwapatis* (Lords of Horses) and in their early coins the horse is seen at full charge and the rider with upraised mace. Another name for the "Lord of Horses" was *Hammira,* a name much used by the Rajputs, who copied Turkish cavalry tactics.

The Turks also had standing armies, centrally recruited, centrally paid and centrally administered, with the mounted fighting men (*sawaran-i-muqatala*) its lightning striking force. They recruited men from all sections of the population, and used the country's military resources well—horses from Sind, Siwalik and Bhatnair, elephants from Bengal, mercenaries from the Khokar and Jat tribes of the Punjab, lancers from Sindh etc.[79] They used these highly trained armies with deadly effect, using mobile tactics. Their squadrons were drawn up in five divisions, the right, centre and left wings in the form of a crescent, with an advance guard and a reserve. As against this the Indians employed frontal tactics. The Aryan invaders had used encircling tactics, but in fights with ill-armed Adivasis gradually changed, apparently, to the headlong frontal attack. This became a habit, and they fought the mobile Turks the same way, their richly caparisoned elephant squadons in the centre. The Turkish mounted archers

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

would harry the enemy, creating confusion among their ranks, and panic among the elephants. Then, late in the day, they would round the wings, molest the enemy from behind, and in the confusion, the Turkish horsemen would pour a cloud of arrows, and the horns of the cresent would enclose the Indian rear.[80] The Rajput armies were mainly feudal levies, lacking unity of purpose, with little coordination, and fighting only for individual glory, as recognised by the 13th century writer, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir.[81]

It was the high military quality which gave the Turks their almost invincible supremacy in West Asia and South East Europe for nearly a thousand years, from the time that Al-Mutasim (833-42), son of Harun-al-Rashid, engaged a Turkish mercenary bodyguard. Only the Mongols, even more highly trained and mobile, could defeat them. But in India the Turks, creating almost a "national" army could, as we have seen, contain the Mongols under leaders like Balban. It is a great credit to Indians, therefore, to have been able to have stood up to the Turks for such long periods, and to have resisted them time and again, despite their obsolete tactics, poor coordination, and inferior arms and horses.

Sociological causes like caste and internal divisions did play a part in the drama, but the main reason for the Turkish victories was military. Otherwise they would not have triumphed in West Asia and South East Europe.

The pride of Turkish arms was, to repeat, their cavalry, famous alike for the compound reflex bow and for their dashing charges. To this the Mongols added firearms. Indeed, they were the first people to use firearms, having learnt about gunpowder from China, although they used it mainly to frighten the enemy and set fire to buildings, for they had not invented the cannon, which was done by the Germans in the 13th century.[82] The Turko-Mongols, or Mughals, learnt about artillery from the Turks, who got their knowledge from Europeans. The artillery, or *top-khana,* was considered by the Mughals to be the 'locks and keys of the Empire'.[83] The Mongols were famous for other innovations in military science—formations in tens; the whole people in arms, or *levee en masse;* through training

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

in a War Academy; siege tactics; ambushes, and ruse of retreat and attack, brought home by continuous practices in the chase; quick manoeuvres, the *blitz-krieg* tactics learnt from them by Liddell Hart and practised by Nazi armies inspired by Heinz Guderian; little banners and field insignia as guides in battle; artillery parks, catapults, mangonels.[84] The Mughals inherited much of these, and thus combined the strategy, tactics and military technology of both the Turks and the Mongols. More specifically, they employed camouflaged trenches, with parks of artillery and matchlock-men (*bandocheen*) in front, with gaps for the cavalry; and carts joined together with ropes and chains, in Osmanli Turk fashion, and placed right at the front as attack breakers. The enemy was thus forced to deploy wide, leaving the flanks exposed. Then the reserve, the *tulghama,* or flanking parties of cavalry, attacked to give the *coup de grace,* after the artillery had decimated the enemy core.[85]

Such tactics were followed at Panipat in 1526. Ibrahim Lodi had extended lines, no definite plans of battle, elephants in front which panicked when the Mughal mounted archers discomfited them, and turning backwards, trampled on their own master. Babar's verdict on Ibrahim is well known, that he "was an inexperienced man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method and engaged without foresight."

Rana Sanga at Kanwa behaved more or less in the same way, militarily, as Ibrahim. After an inexplicable inactivity for about four weeks (advice of Quisling astrologers?) when Babar panicked, and Sanga could have attacked, the opposing forces met at Kanwa. Babar, conscious of dire danger, broke his beloved wine cups, promised never to touch liquor again, and inspired his men to attack with a stirring address. Using the same tatics as at Panipat, he scored a smashing victory, the Rajput cavalry being broken by the *bundocheen* and the *tulghama.*[86]

In the 2nd battle of Panipat, 1556, Himu had no artillery cover. He had scored some initial victories, and overconfident, had made the tremendous mistake of sending his artillery in advance with a relatively small party.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

This was captured by the Mughals—Himu used his elephants well, but when an arrow struck him unconscious his heterogeneous forces fled, were chased by the compact Mughals, and nearly annihilated.[87] The early Mughals, professional conquerors like others of warrior-nomad extraction, the Turks, White Huns, Aryans etc., always fought to the end, their morale not being affected by personalities.

Hence, the Mughal victories were victories of better military technology, of better military strategy, and of better military tactics. Like the Aryans (*Rig Veda* 3.15.4), they used flanking and encircling tactics against the straight line of their enemies. These straight military reasons, more than any other, accounted for the New Paramountcy of the Muslim-Indians which was set up by Akbar and his successors.

Achievements of Muslim-Indians

(a) *Science and Technology*

Nothing new. In the Theo-Aristocratic, we have seen, there is very little by way of systematic innovation in science and technology; there is more of borrowing and extension of techniques. This is true of the Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic also. The Muslim-Indian did not invent or discover anything worth mentioning in the scientific or technological sphere. He was only a carrier of the achievements of the Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile Stage.

(b) *Economics*

Propagation: The Rajputs had a feudal revenue system known as the *bhoga*. The *raja* was the first among equals. The clans had non-hereditary assignments, which the clan leader assigned to military leaders (*patta*) or individual warriors (*chursa*), in return for troops and administrative services. For special services like loss of life in battle, small hereditary grants called *bhaum* were made.[88]

When the Turks became supreme in West Asia, the cash grant system was changed to the land grant system or *iqta*, according to which assignments of land were made by the sovereign to officers, in return for fixed revenues

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and I speak Hindawi. I have no Egyptian sugar so that I may talk in Arabic).[94]

But foreigners continuously reinforced Turks and Mughals, as Ibn Batuta and others testify.[95] In the reign of Akbar out of 485 high grandees, 247 were foreign Muslims, 69 Indian Muslims, 74 Rajputs, 31 Marathas, and 64 were Muslims of unknown origin (i.e. possibly "low born").[96] In Aurangzeb's reign, out of 563 grandees, 227 were foreign Muslims, 76 Indian Muslims, 75 Rajputs, 93 Marathas and 95 "new born" Muslims.[97] The *Maasir-ul-Umara,* an 18th century work which covers the entire Mughal period, states that out of 735 eminent nobles 515 were Muslims of foreign origin and only 61 were Indian Muslims.[98]

The elite believed in the doctrine of *kufw* or *kifaa,* i.e. marriage within groups of the same social status. Under Hanafi law equality between the partners is a necessary condition of marriage—otherwise the marriage is not valid.[99] And so eager were Muslim-Indians to pass as foreign that they often took recourse to marrying fair-skinned Kashmiri girls so that their children could pass as of Iranian or Turkish descent.[100]

The Muslim-Indians were divided into three broad classes—*ashraf* (noble), *ajlaf* or *awwam-i-khalq* (ordinary people) and *riazil* or *Kamina* or *itar* (wretches).[101] The upper class Muslims were traditionally divided into Syeds, Shaikhs, Mughals and Pathans. A more meaningful division of the *ashraf* or *sharif* is between the *ahl-i-tigh* or *ahl-i-saif,* gentlemen of the sword, and the *ahl-i-qalam,* gentlemen of the pen. The *ahl-i-saif* consisted of the military aristocracy and relatives of the kings, the equivalent of the *Kshatriyas.* The *ahl-i-qalam* was made up of theologians, men of letters, *Kazis, Muftis* etc. equivalent of the *Brahmans.* Among the theologians or *ulema* were two types—the spiritual theologians or *ulema-i-akhirat* ("divines of the ultimate"); and worldly theologians or *ulema-i-duniya* ("divines of the world"), advisers to monarchs and noblemen. These correspond to the Hindu *shastri* and *niyogi* Brahmans respectively. The *ajlaf* or *awwam-i-khalq,* consisting of peasants, clerks, merchants,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

artisans etc. correspond to the *Vaishyas* or *Vish.* And the *riazil* or *razil,* the slaves, were the equivalent of the *Shudras.* A big difference between the Hindu and Islamic systems was that in the latter circulation of individuals among the classes was possible, despite the doctrine of *Kufw.* We have seen that about 25% of Akbar's nobles were "low-born" Muslims and 15% of Aurangzeb's grandees. The Hindu Theo-Aristocratic was more 'Theo' than 'Aristo'. Hence there was more theorisation and more rigidity, but otherwise the system and the outlook were similar in the two cases. But because of Hindu theocratisation in Phase IV the Brahman-priest was much more important in Hindu society *vis-a-vis* the Rajputs than the *ahl-i-qualam* were in comparison with the *ahl-i-saif.*

(ii) *The Mughalised social groups*: Propagation—Assimilation—In a subsequent section we will see that the Muslim-Indians enriched Indian life considerably. Several Hindu-Indian classes became Mughalised in the process. These were the Rajputs, the Khatris of the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, the Kayasthas, the Pandits of Kashmir, and the Amils of Sindh, groups closely allied to the Mughals in their civil and military administration. Some even had part-Muslim names like Firuz Chand, Mahbub Karan or Jawahar Lal.[102]

(iii) *The veil or purdah/Seclusion of women*: Propagation—Assimilation. The *Koran* says: "Men have authority over women since Allah has made men superior to women and because men spend their worldly goods on their wives", (*Koran* 38.34). But Muhammad also proclaimed, as Assia Djebar states[103]—'Paradise is at the feet of the mothers'.

In other words the Islamic attitude is more or less the same as that of the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic. The inferiority of women follows from the concept that Eve was brought out of Adam.[104] This is the same as the *Purusha-Shukta—Manu* theory that the woman came out of the Primeval Male. The inferiority of women theory naturally leads to the conclusion that they must be "modest" before men. Says the *Koran*: "O Prophet! Tell thy wives, thy daughters and the wives of all Believers to wrap their veils

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

tightly about them! This will be the simplest way for them to be recognized and not insulted. Allah is forgiving and merciful." (*Koran* 33.59). Again:—"Tell Believers to lower their eyes and be chaste, to show no more of their finery than they need. Let them draw their veils over their bosoms." (*Koran* 34.31).

The veil or *purdah* or *chador* perhaps protected women somewhat in lawless times besides being a symbol of their subservience to men. Whether it aided "modesty" on the part of women is another question. The write-up to photograph 1 of Assia Djebar's book says: "Hidden behind their veils, like watchers behind the battlements of a stronghold, they transmit erotic messages to men. Every fold of a robe, every flutter of a veil is a sign, a gesture, a murmur. There is a whole code of coquetry, far more subtle than that of the women of the West who have nothing to hide behind but dark glasses."

The veil was coming into use in India in the early centuries of the Christian era, Dr Aparna Chattopadhyay tells us, judging from references in the Buddhist *Lalitavistara,* the *Mricchakatika* ("The Little Clay Cart"), Kalidasa's *Shakuntala* etc., but she states that the general picture is that of absence of *purdah.* The term *asuryampasya* ("untouched by the Sun") she thinks refers to the veiled ladies of Assyria and Persia.[106]

Seclusion, or *harem,* originally had the connotation of a sanctuary, arising, Robert Briffault thinks, "from the almost superstitious reverence with which they (i.e. the women) were regarded"[105] in Persia. In this sense the *harem* is equivalent to the Old Indian *antahpura* (literally "inside town").

The veil (although not in the *purdah* form and the seclusion of women became common in North and East India, specially among the elite, even among Hindus, as a result of *mimesis* or imitation, of the practices of the Muslim masters.

(*d*) *Politics and Administration*

The tales of empire-building, of centralisation and of decentralisation have already been told. The Turks and Mughals were Persianised in culture and the court language

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

was Persian. Utbis theory of *Sultan Zill Allah fils arz*—the Sultan is the Shadow of Allah on earth, gained currency among them.[107] Although in theory subjects of the Khalif, in practice *saltanat* and *dawlat* concepts of military power prevailed, both within India, and outside, in the *dar-al-Islam*.[108]

The Sultan's power was limited by the practical necessity of consultations (*shura*) with his officers, the *umra*. The *ulema-i-duniya* also meddled in politics and administration, much to the disgust of rulers. Ala-ud-din Khalji restricted their activities to judicial and religious matters.[109] Muhammad Tughlaq made them government servants and treated them accordingly.[110]

The *ahl-i-qalam*, therefore, were no match for the *ahl-i-saif*, although they had to be heard—a situation similar to the first two phases of the Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic, and dissimilar to the next two, when the Brahman-priest got the better of rulers and warriors. A strong Sultan was an autocrat, for good or more frequently, for bad. Thus Ahmad Shah of Gujarat (1411-41) publicly executed his son-in-law in the bazaar, in conditions of exceptional barbarity, for the murder of an innocent person. And the Bahmani Sultan, Humayun (1457-61) threw one of his brothers, who he thought was a rival, before his own presence, to a ferocious tiger, who instantly killed and devoured him.

The Turks had their court bureaucracy and provincial governors. The provinces were divided into divisions (*shiqq*) and village groups (*parganas*). Sher Shah the Great developed the system. His divisions were known as the *parganas*. Each *pargana* had a soldier officer, the *shiqdar;* a civilian, the *amin*, mainly a revenue collector; several other civilian officers like the munsif, the *patwari*, the *chaudhuri*, the *muqaddam* and Hindi and Persian writers of accounts. The *parganas* were grouped into *sarkars*, under the dual control of the *shiqdar-i-shiqdaran* and *munsif-i-munsifan*. Thus there was a check-and-balances system in the administration, and to guard against officials becoming too powerful, a system of periodical rotations. All this followed Perso-Arab theory and practice.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Sher Shah also organised the judiciary thoroughly. Civil suits were heard in the *pargana* by the *amin,* and criminal cases tried by the *qazi* and the *mir-i-adal.*

Akbar the Great followed Sher Shah closely. In village administration and in the lower rungs of officialdom old Indian usage prevailed while the Court and the higher echelons were Perso-Arab in theory and practice. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration* states that the Mughal administration was "the Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting."[111] There was a high degree of central organisation and a *corps d'elite* of civilian-cum-military officers, the *mansabdars.* The provinces were divided into 15 *subahs,* each under a *subahdar* or *sipahsalar.* Here the system of checks and balances came into great play. In Arab theory and practice there was sharp distinction between the governorship and the treasury.[112] The finance man or *diwan* was in line relationship with both the *subahdar* and the Central *Diwan,* and served as a check on the former. There were the military *faujdar,* the *Kotwal* (police superintendent), various types of news-reporters, and different types of revenue officers, like the *amil* and the *bitikchi,* the latter serving as a check on the former. That the organisation was elaborate is clear from the detailed manuals etc. which have survived like the *Ain-i-Akbari,* the *Dastur-ul-aml,* the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* the *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri* etc.

Thus it was a much more elaborate organisation than that of the Hindu-Indians. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, in the time of Nurjahan-Jahangir, commented on the general inefficiency and supineness of the local administration. Corruption was prevalent, and the highest officers of the state were not above reproach.[113] This was the same as in Theo-Aristocratic administration all over the world. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, in the book cited, gives many instances of speculation, fraud, insolence, laziness, harshness and extortion by officers and officials in spite of the best intentions of the manuals, couched in language akin to that followed by the British Raj.

The Muslim-Indian organisation was copied by the Rajputs, the Marathas and the Sikhs. The British inheri-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

ited it, and in spite of several modifications much of the system survives till today.

(e) *Ideology*

(i) *General*: In several places the syndromes—Conquest/Resistance Propagation/Assimilation, Reconciliation/Reconciliation, Absorption/Appropriation, Transmutation/Transmutation—have been mentioned as being useful in Encounter Analysis. The first part of each syndrome, pertains to the 'conquerors', the second part to the 'conquered'—these two terms being used not only in the military-political sense, but also in socio-economic, psychological, ideological and cultural sense as well. An explanation of the difference between the terms 'conquest' and 'Propagation' in the ideological, cultural etc. field is necessary. A 'conquest' breeds 'resistance' from the conquered, a 'propagation'—assimilation. With this explanation we can proceed to Encounter Analysis in the ideological field, which can conveniently be done, chronologically, Phase-wise.

(ii) *Conquest*: In Phase I there was nothing. The Turko-Muslims did not come Koran in one hand and the sword in the other. Like the Aryan Kshatriyas, White Huns etc. they were professional conquerors and rulers and cared little for either the daily life or the religion of their subjects.[114] In Phase II, when the country had enough Muslims, "conquest" showed itself in the intolerance of rulers like Ahmad Shah of Gujarat (1411-41) and Sikander Lodi of Delhi (1489-1517), who destroyed temples.

In Phase III there were many such attempts at 'conquest'—the intolerance of Khwaja Baqi-billah and of Shaikh Muhammad of Jaunpur, for instance, but they petered out. Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind (1562-1624), a pupil of Khwaja Baqi-billah, was more successful. He came to be known as the *Mujadid-i-Alf-i-Thani* (Renovator of the Second Millennium). He held that the *umma* should be segregated from the non-believers, the *Kafirs*, and that *Kafirs* should be humiliated as they were, because of the very fact that they were unbelievers, *ipso-facto* internally impure (shades of Indusian Brahman pollution ideas come to roost, as neme-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

sis, on the descendants of their perpetrators). His views on the nature of mysticism were profound and have been given less attention than they deserve. There is, first, *wahdat-ul-wujud,* a sense of unity with or existence only in God ; then separation, or *zilliyat ;* and finally, *ubudiyat,* or subservience. The unity with the Divine, stressed by Vedantists, *Sufis* etc. is thus not in actuality (*Wujudi*) but only in feeling or experience (*shuhudi*).[115] This subtle but important distinction made by Shaikh Ahmad marks him out a mystic genius, higher than Shankara, a genius whose views can be accepted easily by Scientific-Democratic Man. Shaikh Ahmad also held that God's creation is His reflection, and Reflection should not be confused with Reality. It is not correct to say *hama ust*—'all is God', but *hama azust,* 'all is from Him', God is not in everything, He is the Guide (*Hadi*). The mystic cry should be, not *an-al-Haqq* ('I am God'), but *an-a-abduh* ('I am His creature').[116]

The *Mujadid-i-alf-i-Thani* formed a new branch of the Naqshbandiyah *sufi silsilah* (teacher-pupil succession) known as the *Mujadidiyah.* Apart from writing books he used the technique of the *maktubat,* or letters to individuals, a method highly developed in India by Shaikh Yahya Maneri, for the propagation of his views. These letters, published after the death of the Emperor Akbar, contain bitter denunciations of the latter's Reconciliation policy in religion.[117]

The authoritative and immensely self-confident teachings of Shaikh Ahmad, the *mujadidi-i-alf-i-Thani,* gave to Indian Islam, according to Aziz Ahmad, the rigid and conservative stand it has today.[118] He says that Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind is the pioneer of what Islam is today in the Indian sub-continent—"isolationist, self-confident, conservative, deeply conscious of the need of a reformation but distrustful of innovations, accepting speculation in theory but dreading it in practice, and insular in its contacts with other civilizations."[119] And that all intellectual leaders of modern Muslim India, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Iqbal, and Abul Kalam Azad, with widely different religious and political ideas, have come under the spell of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi.[120]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Shaikh Ahmad's philosophy is obviously a defense mechanism of the *umma* in a hostile or indifferent environment. And this uncomfortableness can disappear, as in the U. S. S. R., only in a modern industrial-democratic milieu, where religion is practically wholly a personal and domestic affair.

On a more scholarly level was the theologian Abdul Haqq Dehlavi (1551-1642), who once went away to the Hejaz (1587), to make a spiritual escape from the court of Akbar. He was the father of the Muslim-Indian tradition of scholarship in the *hadith*.

Aurangzeb, of the Fourth Phase, is generally thought of as a great anti-Hindu monarch. But the picture is more complicated than this. He had more Hindu officers than Akbar—efficiency was the main criterion.[121] His break with the eclectic past of his ancestors was gradual. As long as Jaswant Singh and Jai Singh were alive he participated in such Hindu festivals as the Dasehra.[122] But he was, in his heart of hearts, a pious Muslim, and he worked to stress the superiority of the Muslim-Indians in India, by the levy of the *jizya* or poll-tax on non-believers, by social discrimination and by differential taxes. But when this conflicted with the *sharia,* the *sharia* prevailed. Thus taxes not based on Hanafi law, such as transit duties and fees on food-grains, were abolished, though this benefitted the Hindus more than it did Muslims.[123] He set out to get rid of practices followed by the *umma* which he thought were un-Islamic. Thus, the roofing of mausoleums; pilgrimage to saints' tombs; effeminacy in dress; the Muharram procession; astrology; the use of gold and silk; music. He cared enough for his Hindu subjects to try to benefit them by his pohibition of *suttee,* widow-burning, and of "obscene" songs sung during the Holi festival.[124]

His fights against the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Rajputs have given him a bad press, but these fights were not pure religious quarrels. The Mughals had Rajput contingents from Jaipur right to the end. The Sikhs had bands of Pathans on their side.[125] Prince Akbar joined the Rathors of Marwar. And Shivaji had Maratha Muslims in his army and navy including a commandar, Ibra-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

him Khan, and the chief admiral, Darya Surung.[126] Feudal insubordination and non-payment of taxes got mixed up with religious motives. But even here the lines got blurred. A Hindu historian described the Satnamis, Jat peasants, who revolted against the Muslims as 'filthy and wretched people' who make no distinctions between Hindus and Musalmans and who ate pigs and the unclean animals, and saw nothing blameworthy in sin and immorality.[127]

It is true Aurangzeb had temples broken, but he also gave grants to temples, and endowments and pensions to Brahmans.[128] And recently, Dr Kamal Gokhale has come across documentary proof that Aurangzeb donated land to the Ganapati temple at Chinchwad, 21 kilometres from Poona.[129]

Shah Waliullah of Delhi (b. 1703) is symbolical of the ideological cross-currents among the Muslim-Indian governing classes during the latter part of the fourth phase. He belonged to the Mujadidi branch of the Naqshbandi sect of *sufis,* founded by Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind. He is full of ambivalence. He subordinated jurisprudence to tradition, *hadith,* and believed in the absorption of remaining sufi disciplines into orthodox Islam.[130] Yet he believed in *ijtihad,* which Aziz Ahmad translates as "speculative reconstruction"[131] and G. E. von Grunebaum as "independent searching".[132] As such a speculative, independent thinker, or *mujtahid,* Shah Waliullah opposed *taqlid* or inmitation. He produced a Persian version of the Koran, and was persecuted for this. He adopted the theory of the Tunisian philosopher-historian, Ibn-Khaldum (14th-15th century), of four stages of history—primitive, urban, monarchical, and universal (*Khilafat*). He thus introduced the *Khilafat* idea in Muslim-Indian thought, which so far had not bothered too much about it.[133] Within the *Khilafat* there could be *amirs,* or independent princes. *Jihad* (holy war) is in consonance with the dynamic nature of Islam, and is like a surgical operation on a festering sore. With this side of his nature Shah Waliullah objected to *shirk,* association with polytheists of any kind, and invited Ahmad Shah Abdali to liquidate the Marathas and the jats.[134] At the same time he showed his ambivalance by admitting

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

that the essence of all religions is the same, and that all of them enjoined similar basic social codes.[135] Thus, in terms of Encounter Analysis he was both for Conquest as well as Reconciliation, but much more for the former than the latter.

His ideas were continued by his successors, especially the *mujahidin* ("holy warriors") of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi. Barelvi was for mass contacts among Muslims, and the removal of syncretistic and polytheistic elements of *shirk* of any kind. At the same time he was tolerant of all religious faiths, including Hinduism. Yet, later on, he and his followers declared India to be a land of warfare, *dar-al-harb,* as against *dar-al-Islam,* and the *mujahidin* rose against the Sikh rulers of the Punjab, even occupying Peshwar temporarily, to be ignominiously defeated and annihilated by them at Balakot in 1831.

(iii) *Propagation*: Islamization came largely through the Propagation-Assimilation syndrome, the propagators being mainly *sufi* saints, as M. Mujeeb's *The Indian Muslims* (London 1967) and the works of various other authorities like K. A. Nizami etc. make abundantly clear. This conversion came mainly in the first and second phases of Indo-Turkish rule, 11th-15th centuries. With the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258 and their depredations in Ajam (Persia-Oxiana) many *sufis* came to India. But Sufis had come much earlier also, some even before the Turkish conquest, like Moinuddin Chishti.[136] Of the orders which came to India the Chishtis and the Suhrawardis were the most prominent. Two sub-orders, the Firduasis and the Shuttaries, offshoots of the Suhrawardi order, were active in Bihar and Bengal.[137] They were organised in hospices or *Khanqahs, jamaat khanas* (large rooms where all the disciples slept, prayed and studied on the floor) and *zawiyahs* (smaller places where the mystics lived). According to a report in the 14th century there were about 2000 *khanqahs* in Delhi and its surrounding areas alone.[138] The Suhrawardis were active in Punjab and Sindh. The most popular order, the Chishtis, had centres in Ajmer, Narnaul, Sarwal, Nagaur, Hansi, Ajodhyan, Badaon etc. Later on came the Qadiris and the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Naqshbandis. All the orders produced many saints, like Khwaja Moin-ud-din, Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki (after whom the Qutb Minar is named), Khwaja-Farid-ud-din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Delhi, Shaikh Alaul Haq, Shaikh Akhi Seraj, Nur Qutb Alam of Pandua, Hazrat Ashraf Jahangir of Kachchucha (Faizabad), Shaikh Husam-ud-din Manikpuri, Burhan-ud-din Gharib, Hazrat Gesu Daraz of the Deccan etc. A great Firdausi saint of Bihar was Shaikh Sarf-ud-din Yahya Maneri.

All the Sufis believed in the *shariah,* differing from the Ismailis in this regard. The Sufi insignia was well-known in "medieval" India, the *Khirqah* (patch frock), the *sajjadah* (prayer carpet), the *nalain-i-chubin* (wooden sandals), the *tasbih* (rosary) and the *asa* (rod). The Sufis were austere men, who produced a great impression on many, specially on former Buddhists, now leaderless, (as we shall see in Chapter 22) who had been used to the tradition of austere Buddhist monks. A glass of *sherbat,* some dried grapes (*munaqqa*), and a piece of *jawar* (millet) bread smeared in *ghee* was all that Shaikh Farid took in twenty four hours. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya took only a piece of bread, or half a bread with a little vegetable at the time of *iftar* (breakfast) and very little food at dinner.[139] They were godly men and their views were as liberal as their lives were saintly. Malik Muhammad Jayasi, the 15th century Awadhi poet, summed up the Sufi attitude well when he wrote—*Bidhna ke marg hain tete, sarag-nakhat, rowan jete* (There are as many ways of reaching God as the stars in the sky or the hairs on the head).[140]

No wonder the Sufi method—*Sufian Tariqa*—made many converts all over North India, and overwhelmingly so in the formerly Buddhist areas of the North West and East Bengal (as testified, for instance by Hsuan Tsang). Because of its distance from the centres of Islam the conversion of East Bengal was more spectacular.

Bengal was, as we have seen, a late-comer in the North Indian "Aryan" fold. The "Aryans" reached Bengal after over 1200 years in North India, round about 500 B.C. Even after that the Adivasis of Bengal were only slowly Arya-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

nised in language and customs, mainly from after Gupta times (3rd-6th centuries A.D.). Under the Palas (7th-11th centuries A.D.), Bengal was apparently mainly Buddhist. The Sena rulers, orthodox Brahmans-Kshatriyas from Karnataka, imported orthodox Brahmans from outside Bengal to reconvert the area to orthodox Hinduism. As these people, along with their hangers-on, like the Kayasthas, were at the top of society (unlike the Sufis), their efforts aroused intense resentment from the Buddhist commonalty. West Bengal was sufficiently "Aryanised" in culture and language, but not distant East Bengal, where serious tensions existed, economic class-tensions. This took the form of a Hindu-Buddhist conflict, and is well-reflected in literature. One Mahayana sect, mixed with Tantric fertility cults (of Stage 3 or Matrifocal Agricultural provenance) prevalent in Bengal, was that of *Dharma Thakur* (initially the Buddha). The *Shunya Purana* ("Purana of the Void") of Ramai Pandit (11th century) was one of their classics. It describes in a section, apparently interpolated in the 14th century, known as the *Niranjaner Rushma* ("Anger of Niranjan"), a murderous assault on Buddhists by Brahmans, as the former did not pay religious tithes to the latter. The Buddhists prayed to Dharma to come to their rescue. At this Dharma, in answer to their prayers, incarnated himself and the deities of heaven as Muslims. Dharma wore a black cap, and came with a compound reflex-bow in his hand. He was mounted on a horse and called himself *Khoda*. Niranjan incarnated himself as *Behest* (heaven). All the gods forsook the *dhoti* and wore trousers. Brahma became *Muhammad*, Vishnu *"Paighambar"*, Shiva *Adam*. Ganesha came as a *ghazi* (victorious Muslim warrior), Kartika as a *Kazi* (judge), Narada a Shaikh, and Indra a Maulana (a divine). The *rishis* (seers) became *fakirs*. The sun, the moon and the other gods came as foot-soldiers, beating drums. The goddess Chandi became Haya Bibi (Eve) and Padmavati, Bibi Nur. They broke the temples and *mathas* (monasteries), crying 'seize, seize'.[141] The *Dharma Gajan* and *Bada Janani* songs, Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar reminds us,[142] bristle with anger against, and jealousy of, the Brahmans, and at the end of the latter is an

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

invocation in which the Prophet Muhammad and the saints are requested to shower blessings on the devout and humiliate their enemies.

Thus we get a vivid picture of the social and economic tensions in basically Adivasi, imperfectly "Aryanised", weakly Buddhist Bengal, specially East Bengal. This was happy hunting ground for an egalitarian type of ideology, and provided an ideal environment for Muslim missionaries. Nevertheless, the greatness of the Sufi saints who converted East Bengal to Islam cannot be minimised. Shaikh Jalaluddin of Tabriz, of the Suhrawardi *Silsilah*, was the first Sufi saint to come to Bengal, in the 13th century. After him came Shaikh Siraj-ud-din Uthman, a disciple of Nizam-ud-din Auliya, and then of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Chirag-i-Delhi. In the 14th century there was Ala-ul-Haqq Ala-ud-din, who was succeeded by Nur-ul-Haqq, commonly known as Nur Qutb Alam. Shaikh Julal Mujarrad of Sylhet was one of the warrior saints responsible for the annexation of Sylhet to the Muslim kingdom of Bengal. Thus, as a result of the activities of these saints, often under difficult conditions, East Bengal, far away from the Muslim centre of West Asia, became overwhelmingly Muslim, the precursor state of Bangladesh.

There were famous Sufi saints in the South also, like Gesudaraz (15th century), who wrote the first book in Urdu, *Miraj-ul-Ashiqin* ("Ascent of Lovers"). The Khoja branch of Ismailis converted the Lohana Rajputs to Islam.

(iv) *Reconciliation*: In the 1st Phase the question of Reconciliation in ideology did not arise as Islam was not widespread enough. It has been mentioned earlier that Ahmad Shah of Gujarat and Sikander Lodi of Delhi were intolerant. This was more than made up by the tolerant rulers, Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir (1420-70), and Husain Shah (1493-1518) and Nusrat Shah of Bengal (1518-33). Paragal and Chuti Khan, Governors of Chittagong under Husain Shah and Nusrat Shah, had the *Mahabharata* translated into Bengali verse. The cult of *Pirs* ("Saints"), not approved by orthodox Islam, grew up, the worshippers being both Hindus and Muslims, generally of the submerged classes, the lowest Shudras and the *razil* living cheek by

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

jowl in the villages. Khwajah Khidr is celebrated even now by burning lamps (*chiragh*) and placing them on rafters (*bara*). Husain Shah of Bengal (1493-1518) encouraged the cult of a composite Hindu-Muslim deity, *Satyapir,* but it was not particularly successful.

In the third phase, such feelings saw their zenith in Akbar's eclectic *Din Ilahi* (1581) ("Divine Faith") borrowing from Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Jainism etc. It was no flash in the pan. Akbar's father and grand father were not orthodox Muslims, they were cultivated Persian-speaking intellectuals. His mother's father had heretic Shiah leanings, and his mother had taught him tolerance.[143] Akbar himself had a mystic streak, he desired to break with the *ulema* and he wanted a faith which would unite Hindus and Muslims. The slogan *sulh-i-kul* (toleration for all) underlined his desire for the "peaceful co-existence" of all communities. But great religions are not made in this eclectic way and the *Din Ilahi* did not catch on. The theoretical basis of the *Din Ilahi* was *al-Jili's* doctrine of the *Insan-i-kamil* or the Perfect Man. The Emperor was such a Perfect Man, somehow linked with the sun and sun-worship (like the Pharaoh, Ikhnaton), with the sun's halo round him in portraits. Although the *Din-Ilahi* did not catch on, the Divine Right aura of the Mughals lasted to British and even Post-Independence times. Dara, Shahjahan's eldest son, dabbled in Hinduism. He wrote the *Majma-al-bahrayn* ("The meeting of the streams"), a treatise on technical terms of Hindu pantheism along with their Sufi equivalents. He also caused the *Upanishads, Bhagavad Gita* and the *Yoga Vasishta* to be translated into Persian.

A thorough-going Reconciliator was the Urdu poet, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan (1699-1780), who regarded the Vedas as divinely inspired, and, therefore the Hindus, like other 'People of the Book' (*abl-al-Kitab*), as monotheistic. In this context he even condoned idolatry as a means of concentration on God.[144] A man of many accomplishments, swordsman, cutter and tailor, scholar, a Sufi of great purity of life, he made a tremendous impression on his times.[145] To underline the dilemma of humanistic Mus-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

lim Indians it may be pointed out that even Shah Waliullah's son and successor, Shah Abdul Aziz, regarded Krishna as among the *auliya* (saints) because of the impact of the *Bhagavad Gita* on his mind.[146]

(v) *Absorption*: The only instance of 'absorption' is that of the *Bi-shar* ("irreligious") Madaris, founded in the 15th century, a syncretism of Jewish, Christian, Islamic and *yogic* ideas. Their influence was very limited. The Madaris went about naked, smeared their bodies with ashes, wore their hair long, beat themselves with chains, practised celibacy, and mostly refrained from eating meat.[147]

(vi) *Transmutation*: This is not possible from the Muslim side because of the fixed nature of the *Koran,* and its status as the Word of God, co-existent with Him, in the minds of the Believers.

(vii) *Certain General Conclusions*: Thus we see that conversion took place mainly as a result of Sufi propagation and in former Buddhist ground, in the North West and in East Bengal. Possibly in North and West India also, erstwhile Buddhists, those dependent on the Court (castes of cooks, musicians etc.), and those with trading relations with Muslims formed the bulk of the converts. In the India of 1974 the percentage of Muslims is about 11. The reason why conversions have been so few will be considered in Chapter 21.

From the Encounter Analysis it will be seen that Reconciliation failed ideologically, (symbolised by Aurangzeb's victory over and humiliation of his brother, Dara), and because of the Koran's Divine Nature in the minds of Muslims Transmutation is not possible. To ward off Absorption the *umma,* in a non-Muslim surrounding, has to constantly have recourse to a Conquest and Propagation Mentality. It is this which we find in Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind and Shah Waliullah, who have set the tone of Indian Islam, pushing aside even the gentle Sufis, to whom mainly the Muslim-Indians owe their origin in the subcontinent, and insisting on the avoidance of *shirk,* or association with polytheists.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Civilizationologically, the Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic exhibits the same features in the sphere of ideology as do Theo-Aristocratic societies everywhere. There is Conformity—the *ulemas,* Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, Aurangzeb, Shah Waliullah etc.; there is mysticism—the Sufis; there is scholasticism—Dehlavi and his spiritual successors; and there is deviation—Akbar, Dara, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan, and tragically, Shah Abdul Aziz, with his belief in Krishna and in the *Bhagavad Gita.*

(f) *Culture*

(i) *General*: We have seen that in Theo-Aristocratic societies hero-lays, biographies and hagiographies are very popular. This is true of the Muslim-Indians also. The Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile heritage gave an intellectual tinge to Muslim-Indian hero-lays, which took the form of histories. Also, as in other Theo-Aristocratic civilizations, a good deal of art, architecture and other forms of culture were suffused with religiosity. Many of the Turko--Indian monarchs were extremely cultured people, fond of the arts and music, like Mahmud of Ghazni, Ala-ud-din Khalji, Muhammad Tughlak etc.[148] Babar was a man of letters; Humayun a bibliophile, intellectual and music lover; Akbar an intellectual of a passionate, consuming nature, a mechanic, philosopher, mystic and musician; Jahangir a great connoisseur of the arts and a man of letters; Shahjahan, a magnificent builder; even Aurangzeb patronised music at the beginning of his reign, and was himself a good judge of it.[149] He was also an elegant letter-writer. The later Mughals were, as is well-known, connoisseurs of art, music and the letters. It is fitting and symbolical that the last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was also a poet.

(ii) *Histories and hagiographies*: History was the servant of religion in Muslim-Indian intellectual life, as Zia-al-din Barni put it.[150] It was much inspired by the ideas of the Arab philosopher, Al-Baquillani (died 1012) that there is no order in nature but a succession of divine acts sustaining the universe.[151] The only significant history is that of the *umma,* but God's hand, unknown, inscrutable, is in everything that happens to individuals and to the *umma.*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The Muslim-Indian historians, writers of the *tarikhs* ("chronologies") and *tabaqats* ("generations") wrote mainly of the *umma,* and of the infidels only to the extent that the latter came into contact with the *umma.* They glorified the achievements of the *umma* and so helped to sustain its spirit in the *dar-al-harb.* Thus, Muslim-Indian history is largely "Conquest" literature, although in Akbar's time "Reconciliation" histories were also penned.

The Muslim-Indian historians wrote in Persian, the culture-language of the Muslim-Indian elite.

In the first phase we have Hasan Nizami, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Minhaj al-Siraj Juzjani, Amir Khusru, Isami, Zia-al-din Barni and Shams al-din Afif. Nizami's heroes are "always brave, victorious, perspicacious, generous, and cultured."[152] For Amir Khusru (1253-1325) history is a pageant where those "who are the embodiment of virtue, genius and true Muslim belief always overcome those who are not so."[153] For Barni each reign is moral drama, the Sultan enjoying success or suffering calamities in accordance with his following, or not following, Islamic dogmas.[154] There is no critical examination of sources by anyone and miraculous elements abound.[155] Some of the histories are plain eulogies of rulers, *manaqib* or *fazail* writing. These characteristics persisted to the end of Muslim-Indian historiography. Thus there is kinship with Hindu-Indian Theo-Aristocratic *Puranas, Vamsavalis* ('Family Histories"), and *prasastis* ("Eulogies"), but the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic is more 'theo' inclined, and so more absurd in the narration of miracles.

In the second phase the histories continued, there being no outstanding writer.

The third phase saw the zenith of Muslim-Indian history writing. Babar wrote his memories in Turkish. He hated India and everything Indian and longed for the coolness, the fruits and the Persian style of life Kabul, Bokhara and Samarkand. Sultana Salima, the daughter of Humayun's sister. Gulrukh, wrote his life, the *Humayun-Namah.* Mullah Abdul Qadir Badaoni, of Akbar's Court, knew Sanskrit, had to do a lot of translation from Sanskrit into Persian (epics, history etc.). He took his revenge on

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Akbar in his *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh,* published after the Emperor's death. M. Mujeeb describes him as "....a perfect example of the emotionally highly-strung, orthodox Muslim who vents his fury upon unbelief without being himself sure of what he should and what he should not believe."[156] The various *tarikhs* and *tabaqats* of this phase heightened the West Asian cultural consciousness of the *umma.* Two outstanding names may be mentioned—Abdul Hamid Lahori and Muhammad Kasim Firishta. Lahori was the official historian of Shahjahan for whom he wrote the voluminous *Padshah Namah.* He lays stress on two things—the necessity of following the *shariat;* and the concept that the basis of stability of a government is the fear and awe inspired by the King. Firishta (1570-1612) was a Persian from Astrabad by the shores of the Caspian Sea. He came to India as a boy and lived in Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. Sultan Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur engaged him to write a history of India and so was produced the monumental *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (1609), the most reliable of Muslim-Indian histories. Briggs has translated this as "The History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India."

In Akbar's days "Reconciliation" history was written by his official historian, Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari* ("The Institutes of Akbar") and the *Akbarna-mah.* He wrote so well that Abdullah Khan Uzbek, sovereign of Samarkand and Bokhara, said—'I am not so afraid of the sword of Akbar as I am of the pen of Abul Fazl.'

All these histories included lives of saints. But a separate genre of hagiography came into existence during this phase. Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis wrote on Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind. Prince Dara in his *Safinat-ul-Auliya* wrote about the saints of Islam; and he also gave an account of Mian Mir and his disciples.

In the fourth phase history writing declined. Aurangzeb was opposed to the writing of any history of his reign. The *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* of Muhammad Hashim (Khafi Khan), an exhaustive survey of his times, had to be written in secrecy. Hindus, chiefly Punjab Khatris, now wrote histories in Persian, people like Sujan Rai Khatri, Bhimsen

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and Ishwar Das. Aurangzeb's simple but elegant Persian letters are helpful in deciphering the meaning of his troublous times.

(iii) *Painting*: Painting was not one of the strong points of the Theo-Aristocratic Hindus, although it was of the Theo-Mercantile Buddhists, as we shall see in Chapter 22. In any case, in the Late (Fourth) Phase of the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, the dominant elite, the priests, were indifferent to painting, as had been their spiritual ancestors, the Indusians. Hence neither the Indusians nor the Theo-Aristocratic Hindus produced great painting. West Asian artists, therefore, were without serious competition in India, and the syndrone applicable to Muslim-Indian painting history is 'Propagation-Assimilation'.

In the first phase book illumination and calligraphy came to India. Even some of the rulers, like Nasiruddin and Muhammad Tughlak, were excellent calligraphists. In the second phase there was nothing particular to note.

Humayun, in the Third phase, developed a great taste for painting while in exile in Persia. He brought back with him two Persian painters, Mir Sayyid Ali of Tabriz and Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz, and entrusted them with the work of illustrating the *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza* in 12 volumes of 100 folios each. Thus was laid the foundations of Mughal miniature painting. Akbar continued Humayun's work of patronising painters, and his Court had a galaxy of them, West Asian and Indian—Abdus Samad, Mir Sayyid Ali, Farrukh Beg, Daswant (a Hindu of *Kahar* or palanquin-bearer caste), Basawan, Sanwal Das, Tarachand, Jagannath. Among the books illustrated were Hindu ones like the *Ramayana, Kaliyadaman* etc. In this manner book-illustration and miniatures entered the Hindu-Indian Theo-Aristocratic fold. All this continued in Jahangir's time. Apart from Farrukh Beg he had in his court Mansur, who excelled in painting birds and flowers; the highly praised Abul Hasan and Bishan Das; and several others. Some local conventions developed, like painting the face in profile instead of in three-quarter, and bunched foliage instead of sparse leaves on trees.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Shahjahan was not such a connoisseur of painting as Jahangir was, but it was during his reign that his artists broke themselves free from Persian tutelage. The Persian palette, dominated by blue, pink and white, was replaced by red, yellow and green, although soft and liquid effects and blending of colours were aimed at. Figure-drawing and portrait-painting were now systematised and canons drawn up. But vigour gave place to grace and to technical virtuosity. The use of gold became more profuse and the borders or marginal motifs (*hashiyahs*) very broad and ornate, including not only a thin arabesque panel next to the portrait, but another broader margin of floral patterns and landscapes, including birds, animals and even human figures. The great artists of the period were Faqir-ullah, the director of the royal studio, Mir Hashin and Bichitr.

Painting flourished in the fourth phase, and there was dispersion and modification of the Mughal miniature style. The number of portraits of Aurangzeb are at least as numerous as those of Jahangir, although the quality fell. Local schools, or *qalams* ("brush-pens") grew up, inspired by Delhi, and with Delhi artists as initial teachers, in Lahore, Lucknow, Benares, Patna, Hyderabad, Jaipur and Kangra. The Delhi *qalam* had crisp lines and lucid colours, as contrasted with the softer colouring, the roundedness and the sentimentality of the Lucknow *qalam*. Hyderabad followed more or less the Delhi style. Jaipur was the centre of another great *qalam*, owing its inspiration to Delhi. A remarkable development took place in Kangra, where Sulaiman Shikoh, the fugitive son of Dara, had sought refuge. Some of his court artists went with him, and Mola Ram created the Kangra *qalam*, a variant of the Delhi *qalam*. In the Kangra and Rajput *qalams* the colours are brighter, specially the reds, the lines are freer and there is possibly a greater lyric quality compared to the Mughal restraint and delicacy of taste.[159]

At Benares and Patna schools grew up catering to the curious European travellers from Calcutta, in the 18th and 19th centuries, the *firqa* (profession) painters, showing men of different trades and professions, various social customs and ceremonies, fairs, festivals and so on.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(iv) *Music*: Music was an essential element of culture in the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, flowing out of the initial necessity of *chanting* Vedic hymns, so that the sounds stirred responsive chords in the Brahman. Most of the Court musicians turned Muslim with the change of masters. Given this background it is easy to understand that music was a great Reconciliator.

Amir Khusru, a *nadim,* or courtier, of Ala-ud-din Khalji (14th century) invented the *sitar* (Persian *sah-tar*—three wires) and the style, *tarana.* He also introduced the *tubla*; and the *qawwali* mode of singing, in which the audience participated in the refrains with hand-claps, an art-form very popular in the Chishti *Khanqahs.* He also invented a great number of *ragas,* of Indo-Iranian parentage, like the *zilaf, sazgari* and *sarparda.*[160] At the court the *ghazal,* with its comparative shortness (four to fourteen couplets) was very popular.

In the second phase the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur invented the *Khiyal* ("fancy") style of singing, with its greater elasticity and scope for improvisation compared to the fixed *dhruvapada* or *dhrupad* of the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic.

There was a great development of Hindustani music in the third phase. Humayun patronised music. He spotted Bachchu during the general massacre at Mandu in 1535 and appointed him a Court musician. Akbar was a great patron of music, a composer and a player on the *naqarrah* or kettle-drum. In his court were many musicians, Indians, Iranis, Turanis, men and women. The famous Miyan Tansen was a Court musician of his. Tansen invented many new *ragas* like *Mian-ki-Malhar, Mian-ki-Todi, Mian-ki-Sarang* etc. Shahjahan was also a patron of music, and perhaps a greater one was his son, Shuja, for long governor of Bengal, where he made his court a great cultural centre. Aurangzeb disbanded the music ensemble at his court when he was 68 years old. But the famous *Rag Darpan* ("Mirror of Music") was written in 1665-66, in Aurangzeb's time, by Fakirullah (Saif Khan), who was at one time the governor of Kashmir. And according to the *Muraqqa-i-Dilhi*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

("Album of Delhi"), written by Salar Jang in 1739, music was the rage of the time, cultivated by all.[161] Jahandar Shah and his mistress Lal Kumari and Muhammad Shah Rangila ("the Gay") were great patrons of music. Among the most famous musicians in Muhammad Shah's court were Niamat Khan (Sadarang), Lala Bangali and Niazi Qawwal. Muhammad Shah Rangila was himself a notable composer in the *Khiyal* style. Hindustani music was a great Reconciliator, and both Muslims and Hindus were captivated by it and contributed to it.

(v) *Architecture/Gardening*: In architecture we have a lot of 'Propagation' and also some 'Absorption', seeing that all the craftsmen could not necessarily be foreign. The palaces belong to the 'Propagation-Assimilation' syndrome as they were copied; the mosques, to the 'Conquest-Resistance' one, symbolic of a foreign faith surrounded by native ones. There is such an *embarrassement de richesse* in architecture that only the salient features will be touched upon.

The earliest examples of Muslim architecture in India are the *Quwwat-ul-Islam* ("Might of Islam") mosque and the *Qutb Minar*, both of Delhi, the Great Mosque of Ajmer, and the Aleri Darwaza of Ala-ud-din Khalji at the Qutb Minar. The first mosques were built out of Hindu and Jain temple materials, with the help of Indian workmen. The colonnade of a temple court required little more than a wall on the west side (Mecca-ward), fitted with the *mihrab*, and the removal of the idol shrine, to adapt it for a mosque. Height was added to the columns to give the structure the desired elevation and airiness, as in the Ajmer mosque, built between 1200-1230 on a Jain temple. The same features occur in the *Quwwat-ul-Islam* mosque in Delhi, built about the same time. And in each a richly carved screen of pointed arches (corbelled, in the Hindu manner) was added in the front, the whole being enclosed by massive walls. Hindu architectural forms persisted in Muslim buildings—carved pillars, lintels, bracket capitals. Regional styles grew up: thus, in Bengal, the curvi-linear style, the use of bricks, and local type ornamentation. The first true arch appears in Balban's tomb (13th century),

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and by the time of the Khaljis the true arch and tomb are at home.[162]

Tughlakabad city (founded 1321) is grim, austere and simple, the simplicity being due mainly to the poor state of the exchequer.[163] With better times, a magnificent complex grew up under Firoz Shah Tughlak (1351-88), *Firoz-Shah-ka-kotla,* with its palaces, forts, mosques, mausoleums, baths, universities, etc., the first of the full-fledged Muslim towns of India.

These cities, in the West Asian Muslim fashion, had two focal points—the Friday mosque (*jami* or *juma masjid*), and the market. The *jami* was placed along the main thoroughfare, or if the town plan permitted, at the rectangular crossing of the two main thoroughfares, marked by a spread-out square. The *jami* was also the intellectual centre of the town where the learned, the *fuqaha* and the *ulema,* assembled to discuss and teach. The other centre was the market-*aswaq* (plural of *suq*). In all Islamic lands the general structure of the *aswaq* was the same. The producers and retailers of the same kind of goods occupied adjacent stalls ; in fact, each trade was likely to have one of the market lanes completely to itself. Moreover, the order in which the several trades followed each other in the layout of the market was apt to be substantially the same wherever one went in *dar-al-Islam.*[164]

In the second phase regional styles developed in architecture, absorbing local features. Thus, the sloping walls of Jaunpur mosques, e.g. the Atala Devi ; brick architecture with bamboo models in Gaur (the capital of Bengal) ; lattices, carvings in stone, delicate, exquisite, based on timber proto-types, in Gujarat. We see full assimilation of secular Muslim architecture in the Hindu palaces and forts of Chitor, Gwalior and Kumbhalmir.

The third phase is the Age of Magnificence, in Romila Thapar's words, the zenith period of Mughal architecture. We have Sher Shah's *Purana Quila* ("the Old Fort") at Delhi, Sher Shah's tomb at Sasaram, Humayun's tomb at Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri, Sikandra, Agra Fort, Nur Jahan's Itimad-ud-daula at Agra, Jahangir's Anarkali tomb at

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Lahore, Shahjahan's Taj Mahal, the Moti Masjid at Delhi and at Agra, the *Lal Qila* ("Red Fort") at Delhi, the *Jama Masjid* at Delhi. The Deccan and Gujarat are also now full of palaces, mosques and tombs, the Gujarat structures having delicate stone carvings and perforated stone screens.

In the fourth phase the only significant monumental architecture is the Badshahi mosque at Lahore.

Mughal architecture is basically Perso-Indian. Indian features of great elegance were the *chatris,* domed kiosks at the corners of the main structure; and stone inlay work.

Jahangir was a great lover of Persian type gardens with their cypresses along laid-out oblong water courses, fountains, well-kept carpets of grass. He started the great style of Mughal gardens with the Verinag, the *Chashme-Shahi* at Srinagar, and the Shahdara at Lahore.

(vi) *Literature*: The Aryans gave the *coup de grace* to the Indusian cities and encountered a priestly ruling class with an esoteric, oral literature, merchants immersed in business transactions in which they used seals with scripts, and a vast mass of letterless Adivasis possibly with differing tongues. In this configuration the strong and flexible Aryan language of the rulers triumphed and spread, enriched by *deshaja* ("native") words, in its process of expansion. The Turks and Mughals had no such advantages. They met a highly developed language, Sanskrit, with a script and an enormous literature, tenaciously held by culture-proud Brahmans spread all over the country, villages as well as cities, like the cells of a living organism. The new conquerors themselves used, not their mother-tongue Turkish, but Persian for official and cultural purposes. Persian was also a highly developed language with already a splendid Islamic literature. Hence the Muslim-Indian elite cultivated it avidly and passionately, and the Mughalised Hindus—Rajputs, Khatris, Kashmiri Brahmans, Kayasthas—followed suit. But Persian was a book language. Most Muslim-Indians, even from Amir Khusru's days in the 13th century, spoke "Hindawi" or "Hindi" or, as it may correctly be termed, Urdu. So, Persian neither thrived nor spread in India.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

It remained a hot-house plant. But some "Propagation" of it—in our syndrome sense—was always there. Men of letters are always more empathic than others, and so one can except Reconciliation literature too. And when the Muslim-Indians began to lose political hold their men of letters turned from the book-language, Persian, to the spoken-language, the language of Transmutation, Urdu. So we have Propagation, Reconciliation and Transmutation from our syndromes. Similarly, in England the old Anglo-Saxon language was enriched by French and when the rulers of England ceased to possess lands in France, the powerful, vitalised English language, drawing sustenance from both Germanic as well as Latin sources, began to create a magnificent literature. In India, however, Urdu did not have that chance as English stepped into the throne, as we shall see in Part IV.

In phase I we have Amir Khusrau (1254-1325) the son of a Turkish father and an Indian mother of Turkish origin. A musician, Persian-writing poet and historian, he also wrote *dohas,* Hindi poems, of which three have survived.[165] These were written in the Delhi-Mathura dialect (Reconciliation). Amir Khusrau also mixed Hindi words with some of his Persian poems, and this was part of the process which led to the formation of the Dehlvi language (as styled by Abul Fazl), later known as *Rekhta* and then *Urdu* (Turkish-camp, camp language)[166] (Transmutation).

In the second phase, on the Reconciliation side we have the *Chandayan,* the romance of Lor or Lorik, an Ahir, and Chanda, written by Maulana Daud, about 1370, in Awadhi. And on the Transmutation side one of the first books in Urdu, *Miraj-ul-Ashiqin,* ("Ascent of Lovers"), a treatise on Sufi literature by Sayyid Muhammad Banda Nawaz Gesu Daraz (d. 1442), of the Deccan. Although Persian was cultivated there it could not have been so strong relative to Urdu as in the North, because of the greater distance from Persia, and hence there must have been a tilt in favour of the latter language.

In the third phase, on the Propagation side there were Persian poets in Akbar's court who won laurels abroad

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

also, like Muhammad Husain Nazir of Nishapur (*ghazals* or short couplets) and Jamal-ud-din Urfi of Shiraz (*qasidas* or odes). Both were of Persian origin, but Faizi, one of Akbar's courtiers, the brother of Abul Fazl, was an Indian whose Persian writing was welcomed in West Asian lands, particularly Turkey.[167] But the Indian way of writing Persian, the *sabk-i-Hindi,* was thought to be more "cerebral" than in its native land,[168] that is to say, a polite way of stating that it was somewhat artificial, a hot-house plant.

There was a lot of Reconciliation literature, systematic translations from Sanskrit to Persian, which was started by Akbar and continued right to the end of the Mughals.[169]

There were Muslim-Indian writers in Hindi, Reconciliation literature again. Malik Muhammad Jayasi, (1493-1542) wrote the *Padmavat,* 34 years before the *Ram-charit-Manas* of Tulsidas. It was, according to Dr Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, the first successful epic in Hindi.[170] In Akbar's time came the *dohas* of his courtier, Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. The *Rahim Satsai,* a collection of his *dohas,* enshrining much human wisdom and experience, is still popular in North India.

In distant Bengal the Reconciliation became nearly Absorption. Yasoraj Khan (15th-16th century) wrote *Krishna Mangala,* a Hindu theme, in Bengali laden with Arabic and Persian words. Daulat Kazi, of the Chittagong-Arakan group of poets, wrote the romance of *Lor-Chanda* or *Sati Mayna* from Awadhi sources. Alaol (b. 1618) adapted Jayasi's *Padmavat* and called it *Padmavati.* He displayed an amazing knowledge of Sanskrit literature. His patron, Qureshi Magan Thakur, Prime Minister of Arakan, wrote a huge romantic poem, *Chandravati,* based on Awadhi sources. Sayyid Sultan, in his *Nabivamsa,* included some Hindus among the lives of the 12 *nabis* or prophets, with whom he deals in his poems. All these were writers in Bengali.

In the Transmutation Urdu language a school of romance writers grew up in the Deccan, like Vajhi and Ghawwasi. Vajhi wrote the *Sab Ras* ("All Flavours", a Sanskritic name), an allegory of courtly love. Vusrati

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

perfected the *masnavi,* or couplet technique; and Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1581-1611), of Golkonda, wrote *ghazals.*

In the fourth phase we have the last of the Indo-Persian "Propagation" poets of note, Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil (died 1721). According to Mujeeb he was a poet of poets, intellectual, philosophical, using all the old cliches and symbols—*saqi* (wine-cup bearer), wine, wine-house, intoxication, heart, nightingale and cage, candle and moth, wave and shore, but always with thought and feeling.[171]

Nur Muhammad, in the 18th century, continued the tradition of Reconciliation literature in the manner of Malik Muhammad Jayasi. His *Indravati* and *Anuragbansari* ("Flute of Love") are said to be beautiful works.

There was prolific writing in Urdu, the Transmutation language, with Persian and Arabic words added on to native Indian grammar and usage. Wali of Aurangabad was the founder of the Delhi School of Urdu poetry, migrating thence from the Deccan in 1721. He used basically the Delhi speech, and his Urdu was not highly Persianised. His traditions were carried on by his pupil, Siraj-ud-din Siraj, who left, among other works, a romance, *Bustan-i-Khiyal* ("The Garden of Fancy"). Another Urdu poet of note was Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan.

(vii) *Assimilation and Reconciliation in Punjabi*: The vigorous, spicy and expressive Punjabi language found many authors of Assimilation (of West Asian culture and themes) and of Reconciliation in the fourth phase. On the Assimilation side may be mentioned the *Bara Anva* ("Twelve Topics") of Abdullah (1616-66), (couplets on Islamic religion), the *Kafis* (short poems of about 6 stanzas each) of Bulhe Shah (1680-1758) the *siharfis* (poems of 30 stanzas, each beginning with a Persian letter in its alphabetical order) of Ali Haidar, and Abdul Hakim's rendering of the old Yusuf-Zulaikha story.

Many folk themes were put into verse, and these may be termed Reconciliation literature. Thus the tragic love story of Heer, who died by drowning while swimming across a river at night to meet her lover, Ranjha. The

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

most famous rescension is that of Waris Shah in 1766. Other popular themes were those of Sohni-Mahiwal (treatment—Fazal Shah) ; and the tragic Sassi-Punnu story of Sindhi origin (treatment—Fazal Shah ; also later by Sayyid Hasham Shah in Ranjit Singh's time).

It will be noted that Punjabi reared up its head as the Muslim-Indian elite became weaker and so declined the strength of Persian.

(viii) *Assimilation in Kashmiri* ; Kashmir, like Bengal, was Buddhist, as well as a New Ground area for the Aryo-Indians, as brought out in Chapter 15. Hence, as in East Bengal, Islamisation and Assimilation came to be complete. We see this in the lives and poems of three great writers of Kashmiri poetry, all women. Kashmiri literature began with Lalla Didi, or Lal Ded, (b. 1335 A.D.), formerly a Shaivite, who had an unhappy married life, met Shah Hamadani, and became a Muslim and a Sufi saint. Her poems, in a modern Kashmiri form, are said to be in the mouths of all Kashmiris.

In the third phase, in the 16th century, we have Habba Khatun, born a Hindu. Her great poetic sensibility was not appreciated by her Hindu peasant husband. Ultimately her beauty, her fine voice and singing and her Persian poetry attracted King Yusuf Shah (1579-86) whose wife she became. But on Akbar's conquest of Kashmir, Yusuf was sent away to Bihar, never to return, and Habba Khatun pined for him for 20 years till her death, pouring out her heart in lyrics permeated with *Sufi* feelings.

In the fourth phase, in the second half of the eighteenth century we have Arani Mal. She was deserted by her husband and led an unhappy life, which is reflected in her lyrics, full of abandon and yearning for love. By her time Kashmiri poetry was wholly West Asian in form.

(ix) *Sindhi Reassertion* : For Sindhi literature the 18th century was a notable one of Reassertion, freed from Arabic and Persian cultural hegemony. The famous poets were Sachal, Sami, and above all, Shah Abdul Latif, with his famous collection of poems, the *Shah-jo-Risalo*.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Muslim-Indian Enrichment Of Indian Life

(a) *General*: We see from the above section how great and solid were the achievements of the Muslim Indians and also that what happened can be explained by the techniques of Encounter Analysis. The Muslim-Indians also enriched Indian life in general, being transmitters of the end results of 6000 years of West Asian civilization, as will be outlined below, the enrichment being essentially of the syndrome 'Propagation—Assimilation'.

(b) *Administration*: (i) Persian was the Official Language of the Turks and Mughals and many Hindu states followed their example. Todar Mal insisted that revenue records be kept in Persian and even in the Maratha area Persian was widely used in administration, especially as regards terminology. The very surname Parasnis means one well-versed in Persian. The missionary Schwartz at Tanjore in the 18th century or Jacquemont in West Bengal a little later could converse with local chiefs only in Persian. Thus, Persian was a unifying bond between members of the ruling groups, no matter what was their religion.

(ii) The administrative and revenue systems even in Hindu states became Perso-Mughal.[172]

(c) *Science and Technology*: (i) The Turks and Mughals were more advanced than Indians in the art of war, military organisation and fortification. The Hindus borrowed deeply from them in these matters, as well as the use of artillery, and the better use of cavalry.[173].

(ii) Paper was introduced in Indo-Turkish times, and the very word for this article in many Indian languages is still the Arabic one, *kaghaz*. The art of illuminating manuscripts was copied from the Muslim Indians.

(iii) Various decorative arts—damascene, enamelling, ceramics, *kamkhwab* textiles, cotton-silk *mashru* manufacture, carpets, marble inlaying, *papier mache* etc. became richer through the influx of Central and West Asian artisans.

(d) *Ideology*: (i) In the ideological field *Sufi* ideas helped in the creation of the *bhakti* or devotional-religion

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

movement, as we shall see in the next section. Even the form of the *kirtan* may be regarded as a reaction to, and a counterpart of, the *qawwali* in its technique of singing, instrumentation, and the refrains, where all participate.

(ii) Basava appropriated, in Indo-Turkish times, Islamic ideas for his Lingayat movement (Chapter 15).

(iii) The practice of diffusing knowledge by the copying and circulation of manuscripts was of Perso-Arabic Theo-Mercantile origin, the prevailing Indian tradition having been one of priestly monopolistic secrecy.[174]

(e) *Culture* : (i) In architecture the borrowings from West Asia were manifold—the pointed arch, the dome, lofty portals, pillared naves and aisles, arabesques, interlacing floral and geometrical patterns etc. The palaces of Gwalior, Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Orchha, Datia, Udaipur, the whole city of Amber (16th-17th centuries) are indistinguishable from Mughal structures. Even when the Sisodias were fighting the Mughals they built palaces like the *Bari Mahal* and the *Jag Niwas,* inspired by Mughal architecture. So did the rebellious Bundelas of Orchha. Indeed, even temples came to have Muslim-Indian features. Thus, the Brindaban temple of Govind Deva had a porch covered by a vault with radiating arches. The plain walls, unornamented conical tower, arched niches and absence of sculpture of the Jugal Kishore temple at Brindaban are also due to Muslim-Indian inspiration. The Jain Sonagarh temples of Bundelkhand and the Muktagiri temples near Gawilgarh in Berar have domes copied from the Muslim Indians. Ahalya Bai's temple at Ellora and the pointed arches and general design of the Kantanagar temple near Dinajpur in Bengal bear the stamp of Muslim India. Muslim Indian influence can be seen so far south as Madurai, in Tirumala Nayak's palace, built in the 18th century, specially in the central dome supported on twelve columns linked together by massive "Saracenic" arches.[175]

(ii) Rajput miniatures are really Mughal paintings, using Mughal-Persian techniques and styles, with only the themes and colouring (generally brighter) being different. The subject-matter may be Hindu, Radha-Krishna, or the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

ragas and *raginis,* but the heroines or *nayikas* "are Rajput ladies sitting like Persian maidens under overhanging branches of blossoming trees. The clarity of outline, the emptiness of spaces, the devotion to details like the ornaments and drapery, the picturesque scenery, the graceful pose, are all Hindu versions of Persian art".[176] Even Rama and Lakshmana and Krishna are dressed as Mughal courtiers,[177] which is equivalent to "modern" Indian artists portraying them with jackets and ties!

(iii) The Turks, Mughals and Persians brought many musical instruments like the *rubab, chang* (harp), *ghichak, tambura, shahrud, qanun* (dulcimer), *ud, may* (flute), *duff* and *naqara,* to India. Amir Khusru invented the *sitar,* while among other instruments of West Asian provenance used till today are the *tambura,* the *sarangi,* the *sarod,* the *dilruba* and the *shahnai.* The *veena* and the *bansri* are old Indian instruments. The old austere *dhrupad* gave place to the romantic *khyal,* patronised, if not invented, by Husain Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur in the 15th century. *Khyal* is less bound by rules than the *dhrupad,* and has graces (*alankars*), which the *dhrupad* lacks. The *khyal* of early times was basically simple in structure and endless improvisations (*tan*) were possible, while keeping to the essential grammar of the music. The *khyal* style more or less supplanted the *dhrupad.* The *sufis* also influenced folk music greatly, and the *marfati, murshidi* and *baul* songs of Bengal, and the *Kafis* of Sindh and the Punjab are full of *sufi* themes. Indeed, in Kashmir, classical Indian music is called *sufiana qalam.*

(f) *Everyday Life*: The Muslim-Indian civilization was largely urban.[178] The *umrah* (nobility) lived well, and ostentatiously, as numerous foreign travellers like Terry, Bernier, Pelsaert etc. have testified. According to Sir J. N. Sarkar, ".....they were more tasteful and elegant than the Hindus in their daily life and even in their vices—which the richer Hindus and particularly the official class copied whenever they had the means. By the agency of the Muhammadans, new articles of food and new styles of cookery were introduced. In aesthetics, perfumery, and—though not so completely, in music and dancing also

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

—the Muslim royal family guided the taste of the entire Indian society."[179]

There was thus, a process of what Toynbee calls *mimesis* (Greek, "imitation") by those who were the inferiors of the Muslim-Indians in society. Some Rajputs, like Man Singh and his father, went so far as to build a Jami Masjid at Lahore, and mosques and *hammams* (baths) at several places, where Muslims could bathe and then offer prayers.[180]

There were many matters in which the Mughals were imitated. The basic dress of Mughal men was the *jama* or *qaba* (a long tunic) with four, later six hanging points, and *tang pai-jama* or tight trousers, the ancestors of the *jodhpurs* and the *shalwars*. There was a turban, and a *patka* (belt or sash, which was brocaded), and shoes, embroidered with gold thread. This dress was borrowed by Rajputs and many upper class Hindus, and even Rana Pratap and Shivaji, who fought the Mughals, wore this kind of dress. Mughal women wore *shalwars* (trousers), *kamiz* (shirt) or *pasvaj* (pesh-waz), a kind of chemise, *qabas* (long tunics), and breast-and-head covers of fine, gauzy material, wrought with silver and gold thread, the *dopatta*; and in the case of princesses and noble women, a square mantle, doubled into a triangle, worn over the head, and fastened at the chin, known as the *lachaq*.[181] Hindu women generally stuck to their own dress, the one-piece *saree,* which Babar noted; or the standard three-piece-skirt (*ghaghra*), bodice (*choli*), and the long, filmy head-dress in Mughal style, the *orhni* or *dopatta*.[182]

Many food items were of West Asian origin—*pulaos, biriyanis, koftas, kormas, kababs, kalias* etc. Non-vegetarian Hindus took the recipes and used them in their kitchens, while all classes, vegetarian and non-vegetarian, rich and poor, came to relish farinaceous sweets, like *halwa, jalebi, phirni* etc.

Persian manners and etiquette came to prevail (we have forgotten what the manners of the Old Hindu, Kshatriya and Rajput nobility, were). The upper class Hindus in the North lived in houses deeply influenced by Mughal styles, with Mughal *farashes* (white cloth tucked on to

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

thick mattresses on the floor) and *takias* (cushions), Mughal style miniatures and music, and formal, geometric gardens with water-courses, fountains and flowers.

The ordinary people also were deeply influenced in their standard of life by the Muslim-Indians. Wherever articles of daily use have a Persian or Arabian name, a West Asian origin can be assumed. On this basis, of West Asian provenance were many silk products; blankets and shawls of various types; carpets of wool and silk; copper utensils; wash-basins and vessels with spouts; spittoons; big chests; certain tailored clothes; certain leather articles; spoons; crockery; china; and gold and silver leaf for the decoration of eatables.[183]

Thus, the impact of West Asia was very strong, and was felt from Kabul to Bengal; and even in the South, the influence here radiating from Muslim-dominated cities of the Deccan, in direct contact with Iran and Arabia.

The Hindu-Indian Response

(a) *Politics*: We have seen that the Turks and Mughals could rule only with Rajput cooperation in the North and Maratha in the Deccan. Whenever the Centre became weak Hindu-Indian states reared their heads. Ultimately the Marathas and the Sikhs completely overshadowed the Mughals and their successor Muslim-Indian states and if the British had not come would undoubtedly have swallowed them up, along possibly with the Nepalese. Orissa, it may be mentioned, held off the Turks, Afghans and Mughals till 1568, and the Ahoms of Assam were never conquered, Lachit Bharphukan rivalling Rana Pratap of Udaipur and the *Bara Bhuiyas*, "Twelve Rulers" of Bengal (Afghan and Bengali), against the brilliant general, Mir Jumla, in the second half of the seventeenth century.

(b) *Science and Technology*

(c) *Economics*: There was no Hindu-Indian response in these two fields. The Hindu-Indian society was a completely closed Theo-Aristocratic one, more 'Theo' than 'Aristocratic', where even the suggestion of any innova-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

tion would have been intensely disliked and at once nipped in the bud.

(d) *Social Relations*: Overwhelmed by the Turks and Mughals, militarily as well as psychologically, the Brahmans elite led Hindu society into its shell or rigid usages and customs, which were made more stringent. For instance, the dictates of Devivara Ghatak in Bengal in the 15th century on marriage and social customs, and the later rulings of Smarta Raghunandan Bhattacharyya, just to cite illustrations.

Bhakti Sects

(a) *Thrust of the Arguments*: The thrust of the arguments is as follows:—

(i) there were two types of *bhakti* ("devotion") sects—one of Reassertion, after the Assimilation of certain Muslim ideas and practices to make them stronger; and the other of Reconciliation between Hinduism and Islam;

(ii) the rise of Reassertion Bhakti sects was one of the reasons why conversion to Islam was held in check;

(iii) the Sufi mental-moral climate was favourable for the growth of the Bhakti sects;

(iv) more trade and affluence also fostered the rise of the Bhakti sects, as with more money in their pockets some could muster enough courage to defy the Hindu Establishment;

(v) but Bhakti mostly petered away, specially with the "bottling up" of India by the Portuguese and other European merchants from the 16th-17th century, as it was in most places a movement only on a philosophic/emotional plane without a socio-economic basis;

(vi) where there was such a basis, as in the Punjab, a Transmutation religion grew up, Sikhism;

(vii) in Maharashtra the position was in-between the two extremes—Failure and Successful Transmutation; the bhakti sects there drew sustenance from a rugged fighting peasantry, and the adroit Brahman elite, not too rich on a

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

hard land, were themselves deeply drawn into the changed mood;

(viii) bhakti, even in Maharashtra, reflected only a mood; the Ulemas and the Brahmans saw to it that there was no Reconciliation in religion and change neither in fundamental ideas nor in the social structure.

(b) *Basic Facts*: The Bhakti sects of the North, both Reassertion and Reconciliation, originated from the teachings of the 14th century Brahman philosopher of Prayag (later Allahabad)—Ramanand, fifth in apostolic succession from the great Ramanuja of Tamilaham (dealt with in Chapter 15). When Ramanand came back to the north he departed from the Vaishnava practice of admitting only Brahmans as teachers, and people of High caste as lay members, declaring.

Jati panti puchchai nahi koi
Hari ko bhaje so Hari ka koi.[184]

"Let no one ask a man's caste or with whom he eats. If a man is devoted to Hari, he becomes Hari's own." As the observance of caste rules was not necessary, according to his teachings, even an Untouchable could reach God without an intermediary. He had many disciples, some women, some belonging to the "lower" castes, like the shoe-maker, Ravidas (or Raidas). His disciples were known as *avadhuta* (the emancipated ones). Ramanand like other bhaktas later on, took back to the Hindu fold many who had been converted to Islam. They were known as the *Samyogis* (the reunited). But he had an orthodox side also. In his *Ananda Bhashya* he does not recognise the right of a Shudra to read the Vedas. His orthodox, yet humane side was followed, among others, by the great Rama-worshipper, Goswami Tulsi Das (1523-1623), who made Rama popular with his *Rama-charita-Manasa* ("Lake of Rama's deeds"), written in Awadhi, the Bible of North India, read publicly by *pathaks* ("readers") with proper chanting and exposition. Rama is not mentioned in early Indian literature, neither in the Vedas nor in the Puranas. In the Mahabharata, however, the Rama

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

story is told in the *Vana-parva* by Markandeya to Yudhishthira. There is a reference in Kautilya's *Artha-shastra* (1.6) to Rama's victim, *Ravana*. The *Valmiki Ramayana* was probably written in the 4th century A.D. (This will be discussed in Chapter 33), but as the common people did not know Sanskrit it did not make this hero of the Brahmans nor his outlook popular. That was the great achievement of Tulsi Das.

All the Bhaktas taught many things which were common. Professor D. S. Sarma has summarised them as follows :[185]

(i) Belief in one supreme deity, of love and grace.
(ii) Belief in the individuality of every soul, (*jivatma*) which is nevertheless part of the *Divine Soul* (*Paramatma*). (Ramanuja's philosophy).
(iii) Belief in salvation through Bhakti or devotion to the chosen deity (*ishta-devata*).
(iv) The exaltation of Bhakti above *Jnana* (philosophical knowledge) and *Karma* ("action", the performance of rites and ceremonies).
(v) Extreme reverence paid to the spiritual preceptor (*guru*).
(vi) The doctrine of repeating the Holy Name (*nama-japa*)—that of the deity—as a means to salvation.
(vii) Initiation (*deeksha*) through a *mantra* (secret chant) and a sacramental meal.
(viii) The institution of sectarian orders of *sannyasins* (monks).
(ix) Religious teaching through the Regional Languages.

The more liberal side of Ramanand was followed by his disciple, Kabir (1445-1518). It is not known whether he was born a Hindu or a Muslim but he was brought up in the family of a Muslim weaver of Benares. He was a disciple of Ramanand, but came under the influence of Sufi saints also. He believed in many Hindu concepts, like those of *Brahman* (the World-Soul), *Maya* (Cosmic illusion), *Leela* (Sport of the Deity) etc. but was against the *Avatara* (Reincarnation of God) theory, idol worship,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

rituals and ascetic practices. He denounced caste more vehemently than other Bhaktas. He preached the unity of all faiths, which he called the *Ram Rahim* concept, which is illustrated in the following poem of his:[186]

In the East lives the Hindus' God,
In the West the Mussulmans' Allah,
Seek Him in your heart
And nowhere else.
Ram and Rahim are both there.
All men, all women that ever were,
Are your own self projected.
Kabir is the child of Rama, of Rahim,
Who is his *guru,* his master.

His *Bijak* ("Seed Book"), *Banis* ("Message Poems") and *dohas* (couplets) are famous and popular. They were written mostly in *Sadhukkada Boli,* basically *Braja Bhasha* (Western Hindi) with some *Awadhi* (Central Hindi) mixture. He was a fierce spokesman for the poor and the downtrodden, vehemently opposed all superstitions, and spoke out strongly against the veiling of women and *suttee* (widow-burning)[187] He was so loved by the common people of of all classes and faiths that tradition has it that Hindu and Muslims fought over the honour of performing the last rites of Kabir.

Raidas, the leather-worker, a contemporary of his, was one of his followers. So was the founder of Sikhism, Guru Nanak (1469-1558). Later came the Ahmadabad artisan, Dadu Dayal (1544-1603), who lived mostly in Amber (Jaipur) and wrote in Braja-Bhasha (Western Hindi) and Khari Boli ("Standing Speech"—of Delhi). Other Kabir-panthis ("Followers of Kabir's way") are Lal Dasis, the Ramsnehis and Satnamis. In modern times Ramakrishna, Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi have been fascinated by Kabir's ideas, as we shall see.

Kabir and his followers are the Reconciliation Bhaktas. All others are Reassertion Bhaktas who assimilated Islamic ideas to counter Islam all the better. There are broadly two schools of the Reassertion Bhaktas—the Rama Bhaktas already dealt with and the Krishna Bhaktas.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The Krishna-Bhakti sect had two branches. One worshipped Krishna and his wife Rukmini. Here the mood is dignified and serene (*kanta-bhava*) while it is passionate and sensuous (*madhura bhava*—"sweet emotion") among those who worshipped Krishna and his mistress, Radha. The *kanta-bhava* appealed to people with more of the martial tradition, Marathas and the Ahom dominated Assamese; and the *madhura-bhava* to those with less of it, like Gujaratis, Bengalis, North Indian merchants etc.

Among the Krishna worshippers of the former type, in Maharashtra, were Jnaneshwara (13th century), a Brahman who wrote a popular commentary in Marathi on the *Gita* known as the *Jnaneshwari;* Namadeva, a 14th century tailor, who wrote prose-poems in the *ovi* metre to Vithoba or Vitthala (a form of Krishna) at Pandharpur; and several women and "low caste" men—Jnana Bai, a maid-servant (14th century); Mukta Bai, Namadeva's sister; Goraba, a potter; Savanta, a gardener; Jogi, an oilman etc. They all wrote to Vithoba in the *Abhanga* metre in the 14th century when the Turks were knocking at the gates and overturning thrones in Maharashtra. The Bhakti of Maharashtra centres practically wholly round Vithoba at Pandharpur although Shivaji worshipped the mother Goddess, Amba Bhavani. Later came Eknatha (1548-99), Tukaram (17th century) and Guru Ramdas (17th century), Shivaji's preceptor.

In Assam Shankara Deva (1449-1568) and his successor Madhava Deva (1489-1596) taught Krishna-worship, in the form of *Eka-Sharana Dharma* (Way of seeking refuge in the One). They wrote *Kirtan-ghoshas, nama-ghoshas, ankiya nats* (one act plays) and *bara gits* (*vara gits*—devotional poems), without the eroticism associated with the *madhura-bhava* Vaishnavism.

Of this *madhura-bhava* Vaishnavism we have a poetic precursor in Jayadeva of Bengal (12th century) who wrote in Sanskrit (Chapter 15). Nimbarka, a Telugu Brahman settled in the Mathura region, taught about the same time as Jaya Deva, that Radha is not merely a favourite Gopi but Krishna's wife. And devotion is to be centred around Krishna and Radha, to the exclusion of all other deities.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Vallabhacharya (1479-1531), also a Brahman, taught that Krishna's Heaven, which is the highest Heaven, can be reached by Krishna's grace (*pushti*) alone; the Heaven, the celestial Brindavan, where Krishna sports eternally with Radha, his eternal spouse, and with the Bhaktas. This philosophy is known as *pushti-vada* (way of grace), and like Nimbarka's is an etherealisation of the folk-tales and legends of the Ahira milkmen of the Mathura region. The most famous mystic of this school, writing in Braja-bhasha, is Surdas (1503-63), the blind bard of Agra. He wrote lovingly in his Sur-Sagar ("Ocean of Sur") of Krishna's childhood and early youth and his pranks with the *gopis* (milk-maids).

To the *Ashta Chhap* ("Eight Seals or Standards") school of Vallabhacharya also belong the Radha-Vallabhis, a new sect founded in Brindaban by Hari Vamsa, who placed Radha above Krishna as the deity to pray to.

In Gujarat-Rajasthan we have, of this Radha-Krishna school, Narsi Mehta (1415-81) and the Udaipur princess, Mira Bai (1503-46), whose songs are still popular today. Mahatma Gandhi was a great admirer of Narsi Mehta, and the two lines given below from one of his poems typify not only his spirit, but that of all true Vaishnavas—

Vaishnava jana to tene kahiye
Jo peerh paraee jane re,
Paradukhe upakar kare toye,
Man abhiman na ane re.

(One calls him a Vaishnava who feels the sorrows of others; helps them in their miseries, and has no pride at all in his mind).

In Mira Bai the love of Radha for Krishna, symbolising the love of man for God, is the only topic of her lovely poems. So is it of the Maithili poet, Vidyapati Thakur (14th century).

In Bengal the Radha-Krishna Vaishnava cult (in its *madhura* form) came from Mithila, much inspired by Vidyapati. Its greatest exponent was Chaitanya (1486-1533), scholar, mystic and a God-intoxicated (*divvonmada*) man, with spiritual fits and ecstasies. His real name was Nimai,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

but he was also known as Gauranga ("the fair-skinned one"), and later, as Krishna-Chaitanya ("Consciousness of Krishna" or "Krishna-Consciousness"), shortened to Chaitanya. He taught that Radha was the innate Power of Bliss (*Hladini Shakti*). He wrote little but travelled all over India and was thus an all-India figure. Nityananda was his great organiser. Chaitanya's forte was the *kirtan,* congregational religious singing. His original contribution was the great religio-aesthetic form of *nagar-kirtan* or processional *kirtans,* singing and dancing, high and low, Brahman and Shudra, Hindu and Muslim, arms uplifted, all carried away by a torrent of religious excitement.

There were many followers of Chaitanya in Orissa, where he spent many years and where he died. Of these the most famous is Jagannath Dasa, known as *Ati-bada* (Exceedingly Great) because of his saintly character. His *Bhagavata Purana* occupies the same place in Orissa as Tulsi Dasa's *Rama-Charita-Manas* in North India.

The Shaktas, or worshippers of the Mother Goddess, concentrated mainly in North East India, were influenced by the devotional cults of Bhakti. The Shakta poets of Bengal wrote poems about *Agamani* (Uma or Durga's annual arrival at her father's house) and *Vijaya* (her departure to her husband Shiva) poems, completely permeated with devotion, or Bhakti. Of the great Bhakta poets of Durga or Chandi or Kali (as she is variously known) were the 16th century Kavikankana ("Bangle or Ornament of Poets") Mukundarama Chakravarti, and the eighteenth-century Ramprasad Sen.

In Tamilaham, the homeland of Bhakti, we have in the Time of Troubles of the 18th century, the mystic Shaivite Bhakta poet, Tayumanavar.

Chandidas of Bengal is a problem. Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee thinks that there were three Chandidases, as follows :[188]

(i) Barhu ("Elder") Chandidas, before 1400, responsible for about 24 of the 1200 poems ascribed to Chandidas ;

(ii) Dvija ("Brahman") Chandidas, 15th century, the "real" Chandidas ;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(iii) Dina ("Poor") Chandidas, a pedestrian poet of the 17th century, who wrote three-quarters of the poems ascribed to Chandidas.

Dvija Chandidas was a priest in the temple of the goddess Basuli (syncretised with Saraswati, the goddess of learning), at Nannur in West Bengal. He was involved in a romance with Rami, a washer woman, which scandalised his time. His most famous saying (in Bengali) is—

Sunaha manush bhai
Sabar upar manush satya
Tahar upare nai

(Listen men, my brothers; man is true above everything else, there is nothing above him).

This is as rational and humanist as anything produced in Rational-Mercantile Greece or Rational-Mercantile West Europe. It is also out of place in the feudal (Theo-Aristocratic) Bhakti milieu. It undoubtedly hearkens back to Buddhist egalitarianism, which was, and is, not dead in Bengal, but survives, submerged in the sub-conscious.

Bhakti is important as having given rise to Sikhism and the martial ideology of Maharashtra; as being stressed all through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Hindu religious reformers; and as a possible alternative to Puranic Hinduism in the future. (Chapter 39).

(c) *Stealing Islamic thunder*: There is no doubt that the Bhakti cults prevented conversion to Islam by stealing much of the Islamic thunder. Ramanand and other Bhaktas admitted Neo-Muslims back to the Hindu fold. Of the various characteristics of the Bhakti cults mentioned some are the same as those of the Propagating Sufistic Islam—monotheism; extreme reverence for the preceptor; grace or love as the main method of salvation; various sectarian orders like the Sufi *silsilahs;* disregard of caste. Some of these were native, but the two most important of them—monotheism and anti-casteism, must have drawn inspiration from Islam. The Bhaktas, however, were idolators which the Muslims, even the Ismailis, never were.

(d) *Sufi influence*: Direct Sufi influence is hard to prove. But the Sufis had more or less the same spirit as

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the Bhaktas, and this must have elevated the former in the eyes of the Muslim rulers and so, to some extent, increased their acceptability. The governor of Muslim Bengal obviously thought of Chaitanya as an infidel *fakir*, some sort of Sufi.[189] Kabir was directly influenced by the Sufis, as were all the Kabirpanthis, formal or spiritual. Thus, Mahatma Gandhi with his chant—*Ishwar-Allah tere nam* (Ishwar and Allah are your names). Malik Muhammad Jayasi's dictum about countless paths to God has been quoted. Shaikh Nizamud-din Auliya once observed: "Every nation has its own way, its own faith, its own *qibla*"[190] (place turned to when at prayer). Hazrat Ahmad Chiramposh, the 14th century sufi saint of Bihar, wrote in a *ghazal*—"Regard all the faiths as one and the same.... Divinity is in reality limitless."[191] And, in this spirit, a Muslim introduced a Hindu to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya saying "this Hindu is my brother."[192] Sufis and Bhaktas intermingled freely and hence the frame of mind of both groups must have been the same. The Sufis were, of course, against idols, which most of the Bhaktas were not. Sufi influence can be presumed in the refrains in the *kirtans*, after the manner of those in *qawwalis*. Hinduism was not congregational, worship was individual. Hence congregational *kirtan* singing must have been inspired by Sufi exemplars. The Bengali *kadchas* ("notes"), or biographical notices on Chaitanya and his followers, were in the manner of the hagiologies of sufi *auliyas* (saints). The most famous of the *Kadchas* is the *Chaitanya Charit-amrita* ("The Nectar of Chaitanya's Life") of Krishnadasa Kaviraja (circa 1581). In the same genre is the 16th century Hindi *Bhakta-mala* ("Garland of Bhaktas"), of Nabhaji (16th century) which contains notices of principal devotees and saints, both of the Rama and Krishna groups.

(e) *Bhakti and Trade boom*: The Bhakta poets belong mainly to the 14th-16th century. This also synchronised with greater international trade, due to the throwing open of Central and West Asia. The merchants involved were mainly Muslims, but Hindus also prospered, in the secondary stage. Contact with foreign merchants in ports must have led to rethinking on old habits and customs, as in

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

British times later. K. M. Ashraf says that "the coastal towns of India and inland centres, such as Multan, Lahore, Delhi, and Gaur, which were favourite haunts of foreign merchants, were the most progressive centres of Hindustan in many respects."[193] In the 6th century B.C. and onwards increasing trade led to the greater influence of merchants, who patronised anti-Establishment doctrines like Buddhism. (Chapter 22). We have seen such a synchronism in the rise of devotional literature of the Nayanars and Alwars in the South in the 7th-10th centuries A.D. (Chapter 15). It is very likely that the Bhakti ideology was considerably assisted in its growth by the climate of questioning about the establishment and its doctrines, which came in the wake of increasing trade and thus a loosening of the rigid grip of Theo-aristocracy.

(f) *Petering away of Bhakti*: The Bhakti movement as a social force suffered from a serious handicap—it had no strong economic basis like the merchant-power of Buddhism or Jainism. Theo-aristocratic ideas and practices were well-entrenched. Bhakti concepts could not be reconciled with that of *Karma* and Past Tradition proved victorious.[194] If there had been a *tabula rasa,* or if the Establishment had been turned completely topsy-turvy (by a change in production and economic methods and relations) then Bhakti may have succeeded, but as these were absent its emotional intensity petered out from about the 17th century, when India began to be effectively bottled up by Portuguese, French, British and other merchants, leading to a more theo-aristocratic climate in the country. The measure of the failure of the Bhakti movement is dramatised by the shutting out of the great Muslim follower of Chaitanya, Yavana ("Ionian") Haridas, from even the precincts of temples. Nothing symbolises so tragically the fact that a movement only on the emotional or emotional-cum-intellectual plane cannot succeed without a bedrock of material support. So Bhakti failed, as had Ashoka's *dhamma* philosophy and its propagation, backed by all the resources of a centralised empire, one thousand seven hundred years earlier (Chapter 22). The Ulemas and the Brahmans held aloof from each other and from the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Sufis and the Bhaktas, preventing all Reconciliation. The Bhaktas, assimilating Sufi ideas, resisted Islam in Maharashtra (Chapter 19) ; and both, churned together, gave India the new religion of Sikhism. (Chapter 20).

However, Bhakti did not fail entirely. The old social and economic arrangements continued, but life became kinder, as is evident from the example cited of the great Maharashtrian saint, Eknath, who tended an Untouchable boy, and took food with an Untouchable family.

Reassertion Literature in the Regional Languages

(a) *General*: With the Turkish and Mughal conquests the opportunities of Brahmans as men of learning at royal courts declined. They had to fall back on their lay flock, who unlike the aristocracy, could not understand Sanskrit. Hence, the Brahmans had to write in the Regional languages, all of which began to produce literature continuously from about the 12th century. Where Buddhism had been strong, older (Buddhist) works in the Regional languages can be expected. Thus, the Buddhist Charyyapadas of North East India, discovered by the Bengali savant, Mahamahopadhyay Hara Prasad Sastri, in Nepal in the early years of the 20th century. There may have been, similarly, Old Punjabi and Old Sindhi Mahayana Buddhist literature, now lost. The Brahmans translated old Sanskrit works, or wrote new ones in the Regional languages. This intensified pride in Hindu culture and thus the social force generated was one of Reassertion. We find this in all the Regional languages of India.

Bhakti literature, already dealt with in the last section, is left out of this. The "phases", mentioned below, relate to the periodisation of Muslim-Indian rule. To recapitulate, the phases were—

I. Turkish-Rajput and Turkish-Maratha Paramountcy 11th-14th centuries.
II. Decentralisation. 15th century.
III. Mughal-Rajput Paramountcy. 16th-17th centuries.
IV. Decentralisation—18th century.

(b) *Assamese*: In Phase I we have Madhava Kandali (14th century). He translated the *Ramayana* and wrote

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

a life of Krishna. His language is stated to be simple and racy, and full of humanism.

In the third phase, Rama Saraswati, living in the 16th century in the court of the Koch ruler, Nara-Narayana, produced his redaction of portions of the *Mahabharata*. And in his *Vadha-Kavyas*, dealt with Puranic stories depicting the slaying of demons. His works are still very popular in Assam.

In the Fourth Phase, when Mughal and later, Arakanese depradations were rife, an impetus was given to the writing of histories, *buranjis*, glorifying Ahom kings and heroes. These *buranjis*, under the influence of the direct, vigorous, down-to-earth Ahom kings of Thai-Shan origin, were themselves simple, straight-forward, direct. Ahom influence was also, no doubt, mainly contributory to the rise of the martial Shakta literature, in honour of *Shakti*, the War Goddess.

(c) *Bengali*: In phase I we have the mystic poetry of the *Nathapanthis* and *Charyya-pada* literature (esoteric teachings of *Sahaja-yana*, Buddhism mixed up with *yoga* and pre-Buddhistic fertility religions) (10th-12th centuries). This literature is egalitarian, folksy. Kana ("one Eyed") Haridatta wrote the *Manasa Mangal* in the 13th century, in honour of the local snake goddess, Manasa. It tells how Behula rescued her husband, Lakhindar, from death by propitiating Manasa. There are also romantic folk stories of Kalaketu and Phullara; and of the merchant Dhanapati, and his wives Lahana and Khullana. Mayur Bhatta in the 13th century wrote the Buddhistic *Dharma-Mangal*, which contains the romance of Lousena and Kanada.

In the second phase we have the *Ramayana* of Krittivasa Ojha Mukhati (15th century). His Rama is not the heroic yet human and sometimes erring figure of Valmiki, but a gentle and compassionate god, meant for a simple rural folk to worship. Maladhara Basu Gunaraja Khan, a Kayastha, wrote the *Sri-Sri-Krishna Vijaya* (1475) based on the Sanskrit *Bhagavata Purana*. Both these works are pure narratives, not suffused with Bhakti teachings.

In the third phase, *Kavi Kankan* ("the Ornament of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Poets") Mukunda Rama Chakravarti, a Brahman, wrote the *Kavi Kankan Chandi,* glorifying Chandi, or Durga, Mother Goddess of Bengal. It also contains the popular folk-legends of this region—the stories of Kalaketu and Phullara, of Dhanapati and his two wives etc. The book is rich in humour, in human characterisation and in the portrayal of the joys and sorrows of the people of Bengal of his time.

In the fourth phase the most prominent work, in the 17th century, is the Bengali *Mahabharata* of the Kayastha, Kashi Ram Das.

(d) *Hindi/Rajasthani*: We have the mystic *Natha-panthi* poems in the first phase. And we have the heroic ballad—*Prithviraja Rasau* of Chand Bardai of the 13th century. It tells of the romance of Prithviraj of Delhi and Ajmer, and of Samyukta (or Sanjogita), the daughter of Jaya Chandra of Kanauj, whom he abducted. In revenge Jaya Chandra plotted with Muhammad Ghori to bring about the downfall of Prithviraj, and unwittingly, later on, of his own.

Corresponding to Hindu political reassertion from the 17th century (fourth phase) we have heroic Reassertion literature in Hindi. Bhushan, in the 17th century, praised Shivaji in Braja Bhasha. Guru Govind Singh, the Sikh leader, wrote the *Bichitra-nataka* and *Chandi Charitra* (in praise of the War Goddess Chandi), in the 17th century, in an old, almost Apabhransa style Hindi.[195] Lal Kavi, or Goralal Purohit, in the 18th century, glorified Chhatrasal Bundela in his *Chhatra-prakash,* written in Braja-bhasha.

(e) *Gujarati-Rajasthani*: In the first phase we have the spirited hero-tale, *Kanhada de Prabandha* of Padmanabha (15th century). It deals with the defence of Jhalaur against Alauddin Khalji by Raja Karna (Karan Gahelo). The Jaina monk Taruna-prabha, in the 14th century, wrote the folk-tales of Gujarat—the *Balavabodha* ("Instructions to the Youth").

In the third phase Premananda Bhatta (1636-1734), and later Samala (Shyamala-das Bhatta in the 18th ctntury), popularised religio-moral stories from the *Puranas.* Premananda also wrote about domestic life in Gujarat, adding

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

a new *genre* to Gujarati literature. Like Narsi Mehta he was for social equality among various castes, a doctrine which found a readier home in theo-mercantile Gujarat than in the hidebound theo-aristocratic areas of India.

(f) *Oriya*: In the first phase Sarala-dasa (14th century) wrote his *Chandi-Purana* and the *Vilanka-Ramayana,* both extolling the War Goddess Durga. Markanda-dasa, also of the 14th century wrote the Rama story in his *Mahabhashya.*

In the third phase, 16th-17th centuries, hundreds of works, translations, adaptations and imitations of Sanskrit writings, infused Orissa completely with the Sanskrit theo-aristocratic spirit. The most famous of these works were the *Ushabhilasha of* Deva-durlabha Dasa, and the *Rukmini-bibha* of Kartika Dasa.

Orissa, faintly touched by the Mughals, continued in its course of "Sanskritisation" in the fourth phase also, in Sanskrit. In Oriya, Ramachandra Patta-nayaka in his *Haravali,* used folklore.

(g) *Marathi*: The Marathas were co-rulers with the Turks in the Deccan. Hence, there was no need for a Reassertion literature to boost self-confidence in the first two phases. Towards the end of the third phase, however, Mughal-Maratha conflicts began. Now there was both Reassertion literature and Reassertion art forms. In the category of Reassertion literature are the *powadas* (Sanskrit *pravada*), "war ballads", which started from the second half of the 17th century. Curiously, and ironically, the *powda* poets, *sahirs,* derived their name from the Arabic *shair*—poet. There were also professional singers of *powadas* who were known as the *gondhalis.* A school of prose literature, on history, historical chronicles, also developed during this period. They are known as the *bakhars.* Among those who wrote Reassertion literature were Vamana Pandit (1615-78), Sridhara (1678-1728) and Mayura Pandit or Moro Pant (1724-94), all drawing their inspiration from the *Puranas, Mahabharata,* the *Gita* etc. The last famous writer of *Bakhars* was Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, who wrote in the early part of the 19th century.

Of the Reassertion art forms, having their base in a

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

vigorous folk-culture, were the *lavani,* secular love songs; and the *Tamasha,* dance-dramas. Ananta Phandi (1744-1821) was a noted *lavani* and *powada* writer, using a new metre which he invented, the *phataka,* or "whip".

(h) *Punjabi*: In the Reassertion genre, simultaneous with Mughal weakening, may be placed the short *Lav-kus di-Pauria* of Jasoda Nandan (17th century), depicting the fight between Rama's army and his two sons, Lava and Kusha, and reflecting also the village life of the Punjab. In this category is the *Var* of Nijabat against Nadir Shah's invasion, written in the 18th century. Many poets, Hindu and Muslim, wrote on the tragic fate of Haqiqat Rai, who was cruelly walled alive to death in 1734 by a Muslim governor as he would not abjure Hinduism for Islam.

Normal Theo-Aristocratic Literature

Thus, we see from the above section, that there was an obsession with Reassertion. There was mainly this and Bhakti literature. But the aristocratic circles did not neglect hero lays and love stories, and they patronised various folk art-forms. In Old Hindi-Rajasthani, before the Turkish conquest, we have the *Khuman Rasau,* dealing with the glories of Chitor; the *Bisaldeva Rasau* of Narapati (12th century) about the romance of Bisaldeva of Sambhar and Rajamati, daughter of Raja Bhoja Paramara of Malwa; and the Alha-Udala story of war and romance by Jaganika (12th century).

In the fourth phase we have romances and erotica of the "Rhetorical" or *Riti* school, basically a product of the *durbars.* In this, also known as the *Nakha-Shikha* ("Nails to Top-Knot of the Hair") school, fair women were described (from the nails to the top-knot of the hair—hence the term), lovers in various moods, including those of union and separation (*milan* and *viraha*) etc. There were also poems describing the twelve months, and Nature and lovers' moods therein—the *baraha-masi* poems. And the musical modes, *ragas* and *raginis,* portrayed as heroes and heroines, had poems to themselves. The noblemen also patronised various kinds of folk-literature and songs—heroic ballads, *alha,* sung with the *dholak; kajali,* popular

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

songs of rain; *biraha* love songs; *bhajans; nautanki* or popular ballet; the *ras-leela*; and the *Ram Leela.*

The Rajasthan-Gujarat nobles patronised—

(i) *Rasas* or Long Poems—narrative, romantic and heroic.
(ii) *Kathas,* or stories in prose and verse.
(iii) *Phagus,* song-poems mainly on love and Nature.
(iv) *Bara-masis* as in the Rajasthani-Hindi area.
(v) *Rasaks* or women's songs, out of which developed the *Garbas.* In Bengal the popular art form was the *jatra,* the Theatre.

Examination of some Legends about Muslim-Indians

(a) *Muslim frightfulness?* Muslims are accused by Hindus, from general impressions, of—

(i) Violence
(ii) Destruction of Hindu temples
(iii) Abduction of women
(iv) Conversion by force—Koran in the one hand, sword in the other.

Taking the charge of violence first, it is true that both the Turks and the Mughals were successful practitioners of violence. They created terror and panic all round, as Lama Taranath and Dharmasvamin, the Tibetan monks, have pointed out, as we have seen. The Turks and Mughals were not out on picnics, nor on tournaments. They behaved in the same strong, deadly and businesslike way as had the Aryans, two thousand five hundred years back, and boasted about their victories in an exaggerated way in their *tarikhs* or histories, as had the former in the Vedas. We have seen (Chapter 15) how the war-leader of the Aryans, Indra, declined and became effete due to soft living. So did the Muslim Indians. They also became effete, like the Later Mughals, and the Lucknow *nawabs* of later days.

The Muslim-Indians indeed destroyed temples. There is no pre-Muslim temple in North or West India. They must have been at least of the magnificence of Khajuraho and Konarak. Temples were destroyed as a mark of conquest and of Muslim superiority, and images were defaced

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

to mark the Muslim's horror of idolatry.[196] But temples were built also, as archaeological evidence shows.[197] For instance, an inscription from Batihagarh tells us about the construction of a *gau-math* (cow temple) and a well, as well as the building of an attached garden, under the personal orders of Muhammad Tughlak himself.[198] Thakur Phero's book on temple architecture, *Vatsusara,* was written in the time of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji, and there is no mention in it of state interference in the construction of temples.[199] In the liberal, catechismal *Fatawa-i-Firoz Shahi* we have the following question and answer.[200] Q.: If an old idol temple has fallen in ruins and the *zimmis* want to re-erect the building there, will the *sharia* allow them to do so ? A.: Yes. We have also seen that the legendary persecutor of Hindus, Aurangzeb, was more circumspect than he is generally thought to be, and that he gave a land grant near Poona for the construction of a Hindu temple. Hence the legend of temple destruction was much magnified, as Professor A. B. M. Habibullah has pointed out, as it served to get recruits, eager for both religious glory and wealth, from Central Asia.[201]

The Turks came, by and large, without their women. Hence, there was abduction, as there was by the Aryo-Indians. This took place at all levels. Thus, when Rai Karnadeva II of Gujarat was defeated by the forces of Ala-ud-din Khalji, his wife Kamala Devi was abducted. Later on she became the favourite wife of Ala-ud-din. Kamala Devi's daughter, Devala Devi, was also later abducted, and married to Ala-ud-din's eldest son Khizr Khan. Ala-ud-din also tried to abduct Padmini from Mewar, but she committed suicide. In later Mughal times we do not hear of such abductions as by then there were enough Muslim-Indian women for conquerors to marry. But the memory of the earlier abductions lingered on in Hindu folk-memory. It is only fair to reiterate, as has been done in Chapter 15, that the Aryo-Indians had pulled out Adivasi women from the bosom of their tribal homes and had dealt with them in exactly the same manner as did the Turks the daughters of their descendants.

The legend that conversion was largely by force is

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

incorrect. There was some conversion by force,[202] but it was mostly through the preaching of Sufi saints, as has been described earlier. It has also been shown that the conversions were largely in former Buddhist areas, the North-West and East Bengal, and of groups dependent on the court, and of trades and professions formerly Buddhists or in close association with foreign merchants. The Muslims hated idolaters, but being relatively few, were not zealous enough about conversions. The process of conversion was everywhere slow, in Persia[203] as well as in North-West India,[204] covering several centuries. Because they were few the Turks and Mughals had to acquiesce in the flourishing of idolatrous Hinduism, allowing Hindu religious processions in Delhi itself. Jalal-ud-din Khalji complained helplessly about it to his bosom-friend, Malik Ahmad Chap.[205] It was only in Arabia that the slogan was—Islam or death. Elsewhere the Muslims made few conversions by force. Any such large scale conversions in India, if they had been made, would undoubtedly have been described by orthodox Muslim historians, as Harbans Mukhia states, "with great fanfare and manifold exaggeration."[206] In the absence of such boasting it can safely be concluded that there were no such forcible mass conversions.

(b) *Muslims are foreigners, descendants of conquerors?*

According to the 1911 Census, when crossing over to higher groups for such purposes was more difficult, psychologically and otherwise than today, only 1.6 million out of 68 million Muslims registered themselves as Sayyid (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad), about 300,000 as Moghuls, and 3½ million as Pathans. That is to say only about 8% of Muslim Indians claimed foreign descent. There is no reason to dispute this claim. They were evidently absorbed by the Indians as Turkish—the mother-tongue of Turks and Mughals—never gained any appreciable currency in India and has completely disappeared. Serology supports this conclusion. The total B+AB among Turks is 25.20 per cent while it is 45.70 among Calcutta Muslims, and 42.90 among U.P. Muslims. The Syrian Arabs have 28.0 per cent B+AB, Syrian Muslims 15.10 per cent and Tunis Muslims 21.20 per cent. As against this the Pathans have

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

39.40 per cent and the Hazaras 43.0 per cent. With regard to A values also the Muslims of India differ from their co-religionists abroad. For example, the Turks have 38.0 per cent A, the Syrian Arabs 34 per cent, Syrian Muslims 42.20 per cent, Tunis Muslims 32.40 per cent. As against this the Calcutta Muslims have 24.6 per cent, Sunnis of U.P. 22.80 per cent and the Shiahs 25.50 per cent.[207]

Foreign Muslims would be concentrated in the North-West, and yet the tribes there are mainly of Vedic Aryan descent, as we have seen in Chapter 15. To recapitulate the equivalences—

(i) Afghan—Hidda (Hrdgoliya), Andkhui (Andhaka-vartiya), Hunza (Hamsavarga).

(ii) Border—Pakthoons (Paktha), Turi (Turvasu), Shinwaris (Asani), Karshbuns (Karsha-panas), Afridis (Aprita), Powinda (Pavinda), Wana (Vanavya) etc.

The Muslims of the Punjab are similar in race to the Sikhs and Hindus and are generally of Jat or Rajput origin.[208]

Thus, the attribution of foreign origin to Muslim-Indians is largely a myth.

(c) *Muslims are mainly low-class converts, who could not pay the jiziya or poll-tax?*

We have seen that in the North West the Muslims are descendants of Vedic tribes, Rajputs and Jats (Republican Aryans mixed with Adivasis). In Uttar Pradesh there are two strata, one represented by the "low caste" Muslims including the Julaha or weaver, the other by the Pathan or pedigree families. The former are nearer in physical character to the artisan castes, the latter to the Kshatriyas and Khatris.[209] The studies of Dr Ghaus Ansari breaks up this two-fold classification further.[210] In the first category are the Ashraf (Sayajid, Shaikh, Mughal, Pathan) and Muslim Rajputs. And the second the Julaha (weavers), Darzi (tailor), Qassai (butcher), Nai or Hajjam (barber), Kabariya or Kunjra (greengrocer), Mirasi (musician), Kumhar (potter), Manihar (bracelet-maker), Dhuniya (cotton-carder), Fakir (oil-presser), Dhobi (washerman), Gaddi (grazier, milkman) and Bhangi (sweeper). Some of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

these may well have belonged at some time to Buddhist artisan guilds, and some others were affiliated to courts and the nobility.

In Gujarat the Muslims are physically akin to higher-caste Hindus. Thus the Khojas are similar to the Lohana Rajputs, the Miana and the Bhadela to the Bhatia and the Parsi.[211]

In Bengal the Muslims, serologically, are nearer the "low-caste" Mahishyas than to any other group.[212] According to the distinguished anthropologist, J. H. Hutton—"The bulk of the Muslim population are no doubt of more or less aboriginal extraction converted to Islam, but the aristocracy includes a number of ancient families of Arabic or Mughal lineage".[213] Most of the Bengali Hindus are of similar origin, basically Adivasi, with a dash of Aryo-Indian blood in the higher groups, the Aryan-Adivasi mix varying from family to family.

Thus the converts are from various groups, "high class" and "low class". Our earlier treatment indicates that they were mostly formerly Buddhists, or associated with the court, or trades and professions having a lot to do with foreign merchants.

There is no mention in literature about Hindus being forced to embrace Islam in order to avoid the *jiziya*. If that had occurred in appreciable number the authors of the *tarikhs* and of the *tabaqats* would have gloated over it.

(d) *Muslims and Hindus were bhai-bhai (brothers)* ?

The Muslims were divided, as we have seen, into three broad groups—*ashraf* (the well-born), *ajlaf* (ordinary people) and *riazil, kamina* or *itar* ("base", "worthless"). In Bengal, according to A. K. Nazmul Karim (*Changing Society in India and Pakistan,* Oxford, 1956) there were four classes—*ashraf* (noble), *atraf-bhalamanus* (those who by their education and wealth could contract marriage relationship with the *ashraf* class), *atraf* (other commoners), *arzal* (the base born). Thus the two classifications are broadly the same. The Hindus were divided, as is well-known, into innumerable *jatis,* grouped theoretically into four *varnas.* The Muslims in the villages, even in the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

North West, (U.P.) according to the studies of Sir William Crooke in the last decade of the 19th century, were near-Hindus.[214] So were those of the Punjab, according to Sir Denzil Ibbetson, who wrote in 1882, "almost the only difference which the convert makes is to share his scalp-lock, and the upper edge of his moustache, to repeat the Muhammadan creed in a mosque, and to add the Muhammadan to the Hindu marriage ceremony."[215] In Bengal, according to the 1901 Census, the Muslims were still nearer the Hindus, worshipping local goddesses like Sitala, Manasa, Rakshya Kali, and even participating in the Durga Puja and other Hindu festivals.[216] Hence Prabha Dixit is right when she says in her *Communalism—a struggle for Power* (Bombay 1974) : "Socially as well as culturally, there was much cooperation and mutual understanding between the lower strata of the two communities. Most of the converts, in spite of having forsaken their religion, could not shake off the hold of centuries-old social traditions. They became Muslims with Hindu prejudices, superstitions and habits intact. To their Hindu neighbours, they were Muslims, but culturally not strangers on that account. At the elite level, however, the socio-cultural differences were wide and sharp. For the development of a composite Indian culture, a large-scale fusion of the two cultures was required at the elite level as well. But the rigid exclusiveness practised by the elite of the two communities created a plurality of cultures of its own kind. Broadly speaking, the medieval Indian society had three very distinct cultures ; culture of the Muslim elite, culture of the Hindu elite, and culture of the masses."[217]

The Muslim-Indian elite could not govern on its own, because of their small number. Hence all of them, even Aurangzeb, had to rely on Rajputs, Marathas, Kashmiri Brahmans, Khatris and Kayasthas. Aurangzeb had as many as 93 Marathas and 75 Rajputs in his superior *mansabdar* cadre of 563.[218] These classes became Mughalised, and they and the Muslim-Indians wore the same kind of dress, followed the same etiquette, ate *kababs* together, drank Shiraz wine, witnessed the dancing of *nautch* girls, lived

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

in the same type of houses surrounded by formal gardens, and with the same type of furniture and miniature paintings, and enjoyed the same type of music and *soirees* of Persian verse-recitals. But the religion remained different and there was no inter-marriage. For deeper purposes the two elite remained aloof. And the Brahman and the Ulema always eyed each other suspiciously. In the lower groups also while there was more in common there was no inter-marriage either. Thus, potentially there were four groups, although for practical purposes there were three. These groups co-existed. There was no "communalism" then. Either the Muslim or the Hindu was the master. Later on, when the two elite groups were rivals, under the British, they enlisted the support of their lower echelons and thus began "communalism", as Prabha Dixit has demonstrated in the book cited. In the process the Muslim lower classes became more and more Islamised and came to be differentiated from their Hindu counterparts.

There was, thus, peaceful co-existence but no real *bhai-bhai* relationship among Hindus and Muslims. We arrive at the same conclusion by a broad comparison of Muslim and Hindu achievements, as brought out earlier, in terms of our syndromes. There was, on the Muslim side, Conquest and Propagation. The fixity and the absolute nature of the *sharia* and constant reinforcement stimuli from the Islamic world abroad made Absorption and Transmutation unthinkable. The proud Hindus Resisted/Assimilated to Resist (Bhakti), sometimes also Appropriated in externals like dress, manners, without Muslim Propagation. The only true Reconciliators were sovereigns like Zain-ul-Abidin, Husain and Nasrat Shah, Sher Shah and Akbar the Great, the Sufis, and above all, Kabir and the Kabirpanthis. But these were few. True reconciliation can take place and the brotherly spirit find expression only when the life-styles and ways of thought and action of both groups come to be of the Scientific-Democratic Stage and the old religions either wither away or are relegated to the sub-conscious. This matter will be further discussed in Chapter 33.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Why did the Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic not Progress to a Theo-Mercantile Stage ?

Turkish and Mughal paramountcy led to greater urbanisation than before. According to the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* in Akbar's time there were 120 big cities and 3200 *qasbahs* (townships).[219] Towns like Agra, Jaunpur and Allahabad grew considerably in size.[220] Some of the towns were prosperous and large. In 1640 the Italian traveller Manrique found that Agra had 660,000 people, excluding foreigners.[221] A century earlier, Fitch had praised Agra and Fatehpur.[222] and Terry and Monserrate Lahore, stating that it was "not second to any city in Europe or Asia."[223] There were other rich cities like Burhanpur in Khandesh, Ahmadabad, Benares, Patna, Rajmahal, Burdwan, Hugli, Dacca and Chittagong. In these cities were many state *Karkhanas* (workshops) and private manufacturers, and hence much trade and commerce. Yet there was no development to the Theo-Mercantile stage. Why ?

Inland trade was limited by transport difficulties and was largely confined to bulk articles down rivers, like grain, sugar and saltpetre. The sea-trade came to be largely in Portuguese, Dutch and English hands. The reasons for this we will consider in Part IV, but briefly, these Europeans had better and larger ships, with sails adjustable to the winds ; better instrumentation in the ships, including the compass, as navigational aids ; and facilities for gun placements in their vessels, which enabled them to bombard ports and make their way back to the high seas.

W. H. Moreland has calculated that while 30,000 tons of merchandise went annually by sea, at the end of the 16th century, only 500 tons went over the passes on the backs of 3000 camels.[224] This is to be compared with 6-3/4 million tons, on the average, in each of the years 1911-14.[225] N. S. Gupta has valued the overland trade, round 1658-60, at Rs. 20 to Rs. 22 lakhs in the currency of those times, equivalent to Rs. 8-9 crores in 1968-69[226]. This is not a large figure. Hence, the effects of this trade were marginal.[227] This is confirmed by the scarcity of coins during this period, as Professor Tapan Ray Chaudhuri has pointed out, shell, almonds etc. being used as currency.[228] Because of this

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

marginal effect of trade society did not evolve into a Theo-Mercantile stage. The profits of the foreign trade went to the foreign merchants who had the monopoly of it because of their better ships, navigation aids and naval armament, which was again due to their better science and technology. The Muslim-Indians, like Muslims elsewhere, had opted out of progress by the doctrines of *Bila Qayf* (Believing without Reasoning) and *La bida fils Islam* (No innovation in Islam), which produced a frame of mind which affected not only theology, but all their activities, including science and technology. Hence their failure to evolve into a higher stage.

Nevertheless, a small middle class grew up.[229] These consisted of officials, clerks, teachers, scholars, priests, doctors etc. as well as of tradesmen, bankers and money-lenders. It was this nucleus which expanded during British days to form the vanguard of progress and development.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 18

THE DECCAN SULTANATES AND THE VIJAYNAGAR ASSERTION

A. Deccan Sultanates

(i) *Life course*: The Turks, with their military superiority, broke through the defences of the Deccan early in the 14th century during the time of Ala-ud-din Khalji. His general for the purpose was the amazing Gujarati Hindu eunuch, converted to Islam, Malik Kafur. Between 1309 and 1312 Malik Kafur overturned all the Deccan Kingdoms and reached the sea at Rameshwaram. The ancient dynasties of the Cholas, Cheras, Pandyas, Hoysalas, Kakatiyas and Yadavas disappeared as mentionable powers. In their place, in the power vacuum, arose the Bahmanis of Gulbarga (1347-1518) in the Northern, mainly Maratha portion, and Vijaynagar in the Southern, Dravidian-speaking portion (1336-1614).

Due to feudal insubordination the Bahmani kingdom broke up, early in the 16th century, to five Deccan Sultanates—the Imad Shahis of Berar, the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Qutb Shahis of Golconda and the Barid Shahis of Bidar. They were ultimately swallowed up by the Mughals and the Marathas and by the Kingdom of the Nizam.

(ii) *Configurational Dynamics*: Geopolitics—The Bahmanis, their successor states, Vijaynagar and Orissa all fought each other, in the proper feudal fashion, the alliances shifting, regardless of religion. Internal relations—There was constant tussle between the Deccani and *Pardeshi* (foreign) Muslims, the latter being largely Sayyids from Najaf, Karbala and Medina, and Persians from Seistan, Khurasan or Gilan.[1] The Deccan Sultanates were really Turkish-Maratha kingdoms, most of the actual local rulers being the fiercely independent *deshmukhs*. The Adil Shahis and Nizam Shahis were specially pro-Maratha (out of necessity), and had Maratha troops, officers and officials. The Nizamshahis, indeed, made Marathi the official

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

language.[2] Geography—The Delhi rulers in the North and Vijaynagar to the South hemmed in the Bahmanis and the Deccan Sultanates to the North West Deccan.

Tradition—The tradition of the rulers was that of the Late Phase of Islamic Theo-Aristocratic. Their numbers were few and hence not much Propagation was possible. The Hindu-Indians also, in the Late Phase of the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, were averse to innovations.

(iii) *Values and Institutions* : In science, technology, politics, administration, social relations, the Deccan Muslims achieved nothing new. But Turkish military science and tactics and West Asian political and administrative styles were propagated and assimilated, as in the North. The Bahmanis were specially famous for their fort construction e. g. at Gawilgarh, Narnola, Mahur, Parenda, Naldurg, Panhola etc. These were inherited later by the Marathas, along with superior fort-construction techniques. There was also the Propagation of West Asian Muslim art forms and Gulbarga, Bidar, Daulatabad, Bijapur etc. came to abound in beautiful tombs, mosques and palaces. The Bijapur tomb known as the *Gol Gumbaz* ("Round Dome"), is famous.

Far away from the Islamic centres of the North, "Absorption" was easier in the Deccan in fields like language and literature. Thus, the Qutb Shahi kings of Golconda (1518-1689) were great patrons of Telugu literature. Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550-1580) had an Andhra lady, Bhagirathi, as one of his queens, and their son, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612) was infatuated by an Andhra dancing girl, Bhagmati, whom he married. He founded a city after her name, 8 miles from Golkonda, and called it Bhagya-nagara. Later, when she was named Hyder Mahal, the name of the city was changed to Hyderabad—the present-day capital of Andhra. In his court lived the famous Telugu poet, Sarangu Tammaya, author of the celebrated love-poem, *Vaijayanti-Vilasam.*

The Deccan was also the early home of the Transmutation language, Urdu, as has been brought out in Chapter 17.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

B. Vijaynagar

(i) *Life Course*: Two brothers, (descendants probably of the Hoysalas) who had been converted to Islam and sent south to protect the interests of the Turks, apostated and founded the Vijaynagar Empire at Hastinavati (Hampi), on the southern bank of the Tungabhudra in 1336. They were Harihara and Bukka, the latter succeeding the former as ruler. They gave themselves the title of "Deva Raya" when king. The Vijaynagar Empire consisted of practically the whole of Dravidian-speaking India down to the seas. Their dynasty, the Sangama, lasted till 1468, when they were supplanted by the Saluvas. The Saluvas suffered a big defeat in the hands of four of the Deccan Sultanates (Berar was out) at Talikota in 1565. Soon after, in 1570, the Aravidus took their place and reigned till 1614. Then feudal insubordination raised its head, leading to the foundation of several principalities, including that of Mysore under the Wodeyars and Madurai and Thanjavur under the Naiks.

(ii) *Configurational Dynamics*: Geography—The Vijaynagar Empire was confined to the South. Orissa and the Five Sultanates barred its way to the North.

Geopolitics—Therefore, there were constant struggles with Orissa and the Deccan Sultanates, but the alliances were shifting, the ruling elite apparently believing in the Balance of Power theory. They fought with the Bahmanis, and later Bijapur and the other Sultanates, like Kilkenny cats, for the possession of the Raichur doab, between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers. This, as Romila Thapar has pointed out,[3] was the same type of struggle as between the Deccan and the South in earlier days, when the Chalukyas fought the Pallavas and the Pandyas for Vengi, between the Godavari and Krishna rivers. 'Conquest of Nature'—Harihara and Bukka, being *ci-devant* Muslims and military officers of the Turkish Army, undoubtedly followed Turkish military tactics, cavalry methods and close-order drilling. All this, when applied to their greater numbers, gave them their sweeping victories and enabled them to hold their own against the Bahmanis and the Deccan Sultanates. They also had Turkish mercenaries

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

in their armies and there was a "Moorish" quarter (in the terminology of the Portuguese) for them in Vijaynagar.[4] This stiffening was necessary as the Hindus had irregular levies, armed mobs led by feudal barons, fighting without cohesion or coordination. The Muslims, with professional traditions going back to warrior-nomad Central Asians, were far better in cavalry, coordinated defence tactics and artillery. Hence they had an edge over the Hindus, who were more backward in Military Science, Military Technology and in devotion to the Military Life in general, believing more in *mantras* (sacred chants), as befits a near Theocratic society, than in the sword Krishna Deva Raya (1509-29), the greatest of the Vijaynagar Kings, aligned himself with the Portuguese under the sagacious Albuquerque, gave them Goa, and allowed them to build a fort at Bhatkal. They supplied him with splendid horses from Ormuz, and this had an effect in the battle for Raichur in 1520. Here the Adil Shahis of Bijapur were roundly defeated, thanks to the horses and the artillery help of Christovao de Figueiredo, as testified not only by Nuniz, Castanheda etc., but also by Firishta, the Muslim historian of the losing side.[5] When Vijaynagar became too strong and four of the Sultanates combined against it in 1565 at Talikota, the Nizam-shahi artillery and cavalry turned the day, while the Portuguese at Goa were neutral, busy with their Inquisition.[6] The Muslim professionals, with their Central and West Asian contacts, had always been better, as has already been stated, in cavalry and artillery, and the Portuguese neutrality tilted the scales in their favour. Thus the Life of Science and Reason triumphed over the Life of Irrationality.

External and Internal Relations—In external relations Hindu and Muslim States fought each other in shifting alliances, disregarding religion. All the Muslim States had Hindu officers and Vijaynagar had Muslim troops, encouraged Muslim traders and built Muslim mosques.[7] Hence, it was never a question of Hindu *v* Muslim. So much so that after their smashing victory at Talikota in 1565, the Muslims fell out among themselves, and Tirumala, operating from Penugonda, restored Vijaynagar strength

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

sufficiently to interfere again in the affairs of the five Sultanates.[8]

Tradition—Vijaynagar was a Hindu-Indian State in the Late Phase of the Theo-Aristocratic. Hence anything new was more or less absolutely taboo.

(iii) *Values and Institutions*: In comformity with this extremely conservative attitude there was no new achievement in science and technology, economics, social relations, political organisation or political theory.

In ideology we have the brothers Madhava Vidyaranya and Sayana, the famous commentator on the Vedas, in the 14th century. It was they who helped the *ci-devant* Muslims, Harihara and Bukka, by using their great authority to declare them to the populace as incarnations of the god Virupaksha. They were, however, not original philosophers, but commentators.

In literature Sanskritisation in all fields continued unabated, helped by the rulers, in Sanskrit itself. In Kerala a style itself developed known as the *mani-pravalam* (ruby and coral, i.e. Sanskrit and Malayalam). The books were the Sanskrit classics—the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas and stories therefrom. They patronised all the local languages also—Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Malayalam. Krishna Deva Rayya himself composed a *Kavya* in Telugu known as the *Amukta-malyada* where he gives, in the framework of the life of a woman devotee of Vishnu, a picture of the customs and religious beliefs and practices of his age. In his court flourished the famous *Ashta-diggajas* ("The Elephants of the Eight Corners"), great names in Telugu literature. The great poet, Allasani Peddana (1510-75) lived partly in his time. Later, in the Chandragiri court, lived Tenali Ramakrishna, famous wit and jester. In Kannada may be mentioned, apart from rescensions of the Sanskrit classics, the songs of the *dasas* (slaves of the gods) among whom the most famous were Purandara-dasa and Kanaka-dasa or Bedara Kanhappa. The Andhra country was full of songs—the *patalus,* and similarly the Kerala country of *pattus.* The Kerala war ballads, *taccoli-pattus,* glorified the great Nair hero, Meppayil Kunni Otenan. Great "Sanskritisers", writing in Malayalam were Cherus-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

seri Namputiri (15th century) and Ezhu-thchan (17th century). The foundations of the *Kathakali* were also laid during this period.

A large number of poets wrote *vers d'occasions* on Sanskritic models in Tamil.

Thus, behind the Vijaynagar carapace, the process of "Sanskritising" the South continued.

In architecture, of the Vijaynagar temples which survive may be mentioned the Hazara temple and the Vitthalasvami temple. The Council Chamber in the Palace at Vijaynagar is also a remarkable edifice. The *hamam* (bath) in the Vijaynagar Palace and the Elephant stables are definitely Islamic looking, with their arches and domes. This is Appropriation, that is to say, taking over something foreign and adapting it to one's use, and not taking it in toto as a consequence of Propagation, when it becomes Assimilation.

(iv) *Summation*: Vijaynagar was a state in the Late Phase of the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic. It was certainly an Assertion State against the Bahmanis and the Deccan Sultanates, but there was no Hindu-Muslim confrontation, neither in theory nor in fact. Vijaynagar had numerous Muslims in its employ and the Deccan Sultanates, numerous Marathas. After Talikota in 1565, it has been mentioned, the Sultanates quarrelled among themselves and Vijaynagar took advantage of it. The city of Vijaynagar was destroyed because of its military weakness and the thorough, professional character of the Deccani-Maratha soldiers. It was never the contemporary opinion that Vijaynagar was a Hindu state fighting against Muslim states, as has been attempted to be portrayed in the recent past by Hindu chauvinists. Indeed, the very name of Vijaynagar was forgotten by us. Senhor David Lopes published in Lisbon in 1897 a book *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga* (Chronicles of the State of Bisnaga) from the narratives of the sixteenth century merchants, Domingo Paes and Fernao Nuniz, as put together by the Portuguese historian, Barros. Robert Sewell, a member of the Indian Civil Service, became interested in it, and marrying it with the accounts of Italian travellers in India—Nicolo de Conti, Varthema and Federici,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

of the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin, and of the fifteenth century Persian ambassador, Abdur Razzak, and some references in Firishta, produced his masterpiece, *A Forgotten Empire* (London, 1900) which became the source-book for the anti-Muslim Hindu chauvinists.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 19.

THE MARATHA ASSERTION

(i) *Life course*: The Maratha Life Course can be divided into four phases:

(i) Winning the spurs
(ii) Shivaji's Kingdom
(iii) The Confederation
(iv) Break-down to small states.

The Bahmani and Deccan Sultanates could survive only on the basis of joint rule with the Marathas. In the 17th century Nurjahan-Jahangir attacked Ahmadnagar, and among the Maratha chieftains who fought the Mughals was Maloji Bhonsle. Maloji Bhonsle's son, Shahji, faced Shahjahan. Lukhuji Jadhav Rao, whose daughter, Jijabai, was married to Shahji, was pro-Mughal, and his desertion to the Mughals tilted the scales against Ahmadnagar. But Ahmadnagar did not yield easily. It fought hard under the great Abyssinian guerrilla leader of genius, Malik Ambar, and in this process Maratha soldiers, including Shahji Bhonsle, were trained up in this method of warfare, well suited to the Maratha "Desh" terrain of crags and scrub-jungles. On the fall of Ahmadnagar Shahji transferred his loyalty to Bijapur leaving his Poona patrimony to the care of his abandoned wife, Jijabai, a spirited lady, and her mentor, Dadoji Kondadev. The Mughals now began fighting against the other Deccan Sultanates, and the grip of the latter over their Maratha feudatories loosened. This opened the way for the second phase of Maratha assertion under Shivaji, Shahji's son, ideologically trained by Jijabai and Dadoji Kondadev. As G. S. Sardesai has said:[1] "It would thus appear that the wonderful career of Shivaji was not a sudden innovation or a wanton eruption like a wild-fire of the Sahyadris, as Duff puts it, but a legitimate development of a process first undertaken by Malik Ambar and then ably continued by Shivaji's father whom the contemporary writers have on that account given the appropriate appellation of a kingmaker. Shivaji's achievements

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

viewed in this light would appear to be only a step onward, his mother acting as the connecting link between the father and the son."

Shivaji (born 1627) took fort after fort, defeating the Mores of Javli and the Mughal, Afzal Khan, who tried to kill him treacherously, but whom he forestalled with his *baghnakh* or gloves with steel claws. Jai Singh, on behalf of the Mughals, forced him to give up all but 12 of his 35 forts (1665). Shivaji was persuaded to go to Agra, but the foolish Aurangzeb, not realising the military strength of the Marathas, treated him as a third grade *mansabdar*. Shivaji resented this, was therefore placed under restraint, but fled and after many escapades returned home. Then, with the help of Tanaji Malusare, Moro Pingle and others he took many forts and crowned himself as an independent ruler at Raigarh in 1674, assuming the time-honoured Hindu title of *Chhatrapati* ("Lord of the Umbrella").

The Mughals continued their assaults but were held back by Tara Bai, a spirited Maratha lady, the widow of Shivaji's second son, Rajaram. The elder son, Sambhaji, had been tortured to death by the Mughals in 1689. The Mughals had then also captured Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, who was brought up as a Mughal prince and hence became pro-Mughal. He was released, to be an apple of discord among the Marathas (1708), and two groups now formed themselves amongst them—Shahu at Satara and Tarabai and her son, Sambhaji, at Kolhapur. Sambhaji was defeated in 1730, but meanwhile power had been seized, in 1713, by the *Peshwa*, or Prime Minister, a clever Chitpavan Brahman from the Konkan, Balaji Vishwanath.

He began the third phase of Maratha assertion. The Peshwas organised a Maratha confederacy of princes, and controlled it from Poona, while the King became a figurehead at Satara, immersed in royal family quarrels. In 1719 the Mughal Emperor legitimised the Maratha taxes on neighbouring States in the Deccan—the *chauth* (one quarter levy) and the *sardeshmukhi* (ten per cent surcharge).

Baji Rao I (1720-40) then struck at the Mughal Empire itself. His soldiers overran Malwa, Bundelkhand and Gujarat and the Nizam of Hyderabad was defeated re-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

peatedly. Maratha princedoms were established at Gwalior (Sindhia), Indore (Holkar), Baroda (Gaikwad), and Nagpur (Bhonsles). Baji Rao's brother, Chimaji Appa, took Thana, Bassein and Salsette from the redoubtable Portuguese. Baji Rao was a great guerrilla fight and organiser.

The Marathas then made incursions to North India. Avadh was invaded in 1751, and the Rohilla Afghans were defeated. In 1757-58 they reached distant Attock and became masters of the Punjab. But their dreams of a Northern Empire were shattered by the Afghan, Ahmad Shah Abdali, at Panipat in 1761. India could not be held by them with their relatively poor technical means, as we shall see.

The forces of the Peshwa retreated gloomily to Poona and Maratha unity could not really be restored thereafter, although there was a semblance of the Confederacy for some time. With sure, silent steps came the British conqueror, dividing the Marathas—with much help from the Marathas themselves on this account—and conquering this near-Imperial people one by one.

(ii) *Configurational Dynamics*: Geography—Between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar lay the hilly tract known as the Mavals or the land of the setting sun, extending along the two ridges of the Sahyadri range, roughly from Wai and Satara in the south to Junnar and Kalyan in the north. This was a no-man's land, never fully conquered by the Muslims, the *Desh* ("Country") or *swarajya* ("home kingdom") of the fighting Marathas, the Mavalis, with their turbulent and fiercely independent feudal lords, the *deshmukhs*.[2] It is a land of high, flat-topped hills, easily convertible by means of a few bastions into forts, which were almost impregnable without the use of seige-artillery. Says a foreign geographer, D. H. K. Spate, about this land :[3] "All is distinctive ; the terrain of wide rolling swells and abrupt mesas, the simple but extremely pleasing village and small-town architecture, even the women's dress, with business-like saris tucked up between the thighs to make breeches when real work must be done." Here, in ideal guerrilla country, Maratha military greatness came to fruition.

Geopolitics—Muslim rule in the Deccan was really Muslim-Maratha rule, and practically Maratha rule in the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

17th century. Mahadeo Govind Ranade says:[4] "Thus, about the commencement of the 17th century the nominal Mahomedan Rulers of Golkonda, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Bidar were virtually controlled both in civil departments by Maratha statesmen and Maratha warriors and the hill forts near the Ghats and the country thereabout were in the hands of Maratha jahagirdars who were only nominally dependent upon these Mahomedan sovereigns." By striking at these Muslim soverigns the foolish Mughals, specially Aurangzeb, allowed the Marathas, indeed unwittingly invited them, to raise their heads. Due to Soft and Easy Living the Mughals declined in North India itself, as we have seen, and so did their partners, the Rajputs, and there was a power-vacuum after Nadir Shah's invasion and seizure of Delhi in 1739. Into this power vacuum rushed the Marathas from the Deccan and the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Marathas got the better of the Afghans in the Punjab initially but ultimately fell to them at Panipat in 1761, because of weaker military technology, as we shall see.

Technological State ("Mastery over Nature").—The early Maratha military greatness, including that of Shivaji, lay in their mobile light cavalry and their chain of fortresses. The Marathas had learnt the best of West Asian fort-building techniques under the Bahmanis. At the time of his death Shivaji is supposed to have had 40,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry[5], showing the preponderant strength of the light horse. According to the *bakhar* (history) of Sabhasad, he had an elephant corps of about 1260, and a camel corps between 1500 and 3000.[6] His artillery was not very strong—a weak point of the Marathas. According to Orme it was "eighty pieces of cannon and lead sufficient for his matchlocks from the French Director at Surat."[7]

The Marathas lived off the land. Discipline was severe, contrasting glaringly with contemporary Mughal laxity. Sabhasad has given the Maratha regulations in this respect. These have been translated, for the benefit of the non-Maharashtrians, by Dr S. N. Sen.[8] Khafi Khan had praised them.[9]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Following Malik Ambar the early Marathas specialised in guerrilla warfare and went on *mulkgiri* raids on neighbouring territories after the rains, a hoary Indian feudal practice (e.g. *Raghuvamsa* 4th canto, verses 15-28), followed also by the Rajputs and the Turks. Later on, by the time of Panipat, the Maratha army became completely Mughalised, heavy, cumbersome, without discipline, individualised, with hordes of servants and comfort girls. Only 1/5th of the total force was combatant.[10] The terrible weakness in the field of artillery continued. Even by the time of Panipat, 1761, the Marathas had to have Muslims for their artillery-men, commanded by the loyal and redoubtable Ibrahim Khan Gardi.

Internal Relations—At the bottom there were the tough Maratha peasant-soldiers. These were led by fiercely dependent *deshmukhs,* who shared life with them—the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, the Ghadges of Malawdi, the Manes of Mhaswad, the Savants of Wadi, the Dafles of Jat, the Mores of Javli, the Ghorpades of Kapsee and Mudhol, the Shirkes, the Mahadiks, the Mohites and the Gujars.[11] Adroit and highly intellectual Brahmans, and Chandra Seniya Kayastha Prabhus and Pathare Prabhus, with ears close to the ground on a hard land supplemented these fighters. The relations with the Muslim-Indians were excellent. Shivaji's admiral, Darya Surung, was a Muslim.

Tradition—The Marathas were in the last phase of Hindu-Indian Theo-Aristocratic, like Vijaynagar. Hence, any real innovation was frowned upon. From the equally feudal Bahmanis they mastered the art of fort-construction, and they learnt guerrilla warfare from Malik Ambar's Abyssinians. But the acquisition of that amount of technical knowledge inherent in any competent handling of the artillery was beyond them, as it had been beyond the Rajputs, and beyond Vijaynagar.

(iii) *Values and Institutions*

(a) Science and technology—The poverty of science and technology will be dealt with in the next section.

(b) Economics—The revenue system followed Mughal-Deccani principles. Sabhasad says that the state demand was fixed at 40%. Later on cesses were added and so the

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

total must have been round about 50%, as in Mughal territories. In client and raided territories the levy was known as the *chauth* (one fourth of the State revenues) supplemented by the *sardeshmukhi* (one-tenth surcharge). Of the *chauth* collected 75% went to the collecting chiefs as *saranjam*, 6% to the *pant sachiv* (the secretariat), 3% was at the king's disposal for public expenditure, and the balance 16% (like the *sardeshmukhi*) went to the king. In Rajasthan the arrangements were of the Mughal type, a tribute (*khandani or mamlat*) being levied on the rajas.

Shivaji tried to supplant the feudal *mokasa* (*muqasa*) grants for state services by cash salaries, through *barats* (orders).[12] But this did not work[13], and fell to disuse after his death. In the 1740's, under Balaji Baji Rao, the economic arrangements reverted fully to the feudal type, these being broadly as follows:[14]

(i) Zamindars and hereditary chiefs confirmed in power, although with lesser authority
(ii) Maratha officers got assignments (*Saranjams*) for the armed forces under their control, which were not hereditary
(iii) The Mughal *jagirdars* were displaced but Muslim trust and charitable bodies continued with their privileges
(iv) Maratha officers were appointed to collect revenues, through the village headman (*patil*), or where the *patil* was not strong enough, a revenue farmer, the *malguzar*.

Thus, the old Theo-Aristocratic ("feudal") system continued, the Maratha replacing the Mughal.

(c) Politics—The early Maratha objective is clear from Shivaji's letter to Maloji Ghorpade—it was Maratha independence pure and simple. The great *Chhatrapati's* ideal was Akbar. In his letter to Aurangzeb, drafted by his secretary, Nil Prabhu, he lauds Akbar's policy of toleration to all (*sulh-i-kul*) and calls Akbar "the architect of the fabric of empire."[15] Later, Baji Rao, in the 1720's, formulated the policy of supplanting the Mughals by a Hindu empire or *padpadshahi*—"let us strike at the trunk

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves." But this objective met with defeat at Panipat in 1761, as we have seen.

The Maratha bureaucratic organisation, according to specialists like Sir Wolsey Haig, V. T. Gune, H. N. Sinha etc., had its ancestry in the Bahmani method of rule.[16] All the various types of officials—the *peshwa,* the *majmuadar,* the *prant, tarf, mauza* etc. had existed before.[17] It was, however, not a bureaucracy proper, but an autocracy, in the old Theo-Aristocratic fashion, the officials depending entirely on recruitment, promotion etc. on the king's favour and carrying out his will without demur.[18] The king was the lynch-pin of the whole system, and in accordance with Indian Theo-Aristocratic tradition there was no real delegation of powers.

(d) Social Structure—Under the Deccan Sultanates there were the peasants and landless labourers at the bottom; over them, the petty landholders, the *mirasdars;* over them the *deshpandes* and *deshmukhs* with administrative powers and some autonomy; and still over them, the central administration. Officials were given land assignments or *saranjams,* instead of salaries; *deshmukhs* and *deshpandes, iqitas* or *mokasa* (*muqasa*) grants for services rendered, and favourites, *jagirs.*[19] Shivaji tried to introduce a cash mode of payment, as has been stated earlier. The *mirasdar* or petty landlord class, as well as soldiers, were paid in cash as well as by *saranjam.*[20] The *mirasdars* were, indeed, the backbone of Shivaji's military as well as civil system.[21] Shivaji tried to bring the *mirasdars* into line with the peasants and he tried also to curb the power of the *deshmukhs* and the *deshpandes,* forbidding them, for instance, to build castles.[22] But after his death the equalising policy of Shivaji the Great was not continued.[23] The milieu was too feudal for that.

Caste squabbles took place in the third phase. In the first two phases the Deshastha Brahmans and Pathare Prabhus had aided the Marathas. In the third phase the Peshwas substituted for them their Brahman kinsmen—the Chitpavans. This squabbling must have weakened the administration.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(e) Ideology—The *Chhatrapati* was immensely assisted, ideologically, by the manly Reassertion Bhakti philosophy of the Brahman, Guru Ramdas Samarth ("Powerful"), who had 800 *maths* (monasteries) all over India, mainly in Maharashtra.[24] Guru Ramdas made *bhakti* militant, substituting the sword for the cymbals.[25] Irawati Karve has emphasised the importance of the Vithoba shrine at Pandharpur, and the pilgrimage to this place as a strong centralising, unifying force.[26] Bhakti, as a social force, worked in Maharashtra because the economic differences between the classes, on this hard land, was less than in North India. All this fit in with the *Dasabodha* of Guru Ramdas, conservative, but active and humane. Once, in a dramatic incident, Shivaji gave up his kingdom to Guru Ramdas; the Guru returned it back to him as a trust, since when the saffron scarf of the mendicant (*bhagwa* or *bhagava jhanda*), became the flag of the Maratha state.

(f) Culture: This has already been dealt with in Chapter 17—the Reassertion literature of the *powadas* or war ballads and of the historical chronicles (*bakhars*), along with the flourishing of folk art forms, the *lavani* (secular love songs) and the *tamasha* (dance dramas).

(iv) *Summation*

(a) *Utter neglect of science and technology*: The Maratha assertion movement, like that of Vijaynagar, was one in the Late Phase of a Theo-Aristocratic Civilization, with the emphasis heavy on the "theo" element. An utter neglect of science and technology is characteristic of this ethos. When Chimaji Appa conquered Bassein, the Portuguese docks, the foundries for making guns, the experts to work them on scientific methods, all fell to the Marathas. But they did not recognise the value of their legacy. For some time the docks were run with the help of Portuguese experts like Noronha. They fell into disuse.[28] Swords, English iron and lead, guns, telescopes, files, medicines, clocks, paper, cutlery and crockery were obtained from Europe. And yet, laments Sardesai, "it did not occur to any of us to enquire how these articles were manufactured and why they could not be produced here."[29] No Indian ruler, including the Marathas, had Indians who knew how

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

to make artillery nor manipulate them for best defence or offence.

This utter lack of interest in science and technology, even on the military side, was disastrously underlined at Panipat in 1761. Not only did the Abdali have superior fire-power, but he also introduced an innovation, 1000 camels each carrying two swivel guns, the *zamburak*. This was very mobile and effective and played a decisive part in the battle.[30] The Afghan flint-locks, the *jizails*, also had longer barrels and fired heavier shot at longer ranges. The Maratha guns were of bigger calibre and had longer range, 3000 yards, but were heavy, and useless after the battle had begun as they could not be easily moved.[31]

(b) *It was not a Hindu pad-padshahi*: The Maratha assertion cannot be called a Hindu *pad-padshahi* movement. The Marathas estranged the Rajputs, and the Jaipur ruler, Ishwari Singh, was forced to commit suicide.[32] Sindhia and Holkar also behaved badly with the Rajputs.[33] In the great march to the North in 1760 Suraj Mal, the Jat chieftain of Bharatpur, joined the Maratha forces. An experienced soldier, Suraj Mal, as well as Holkar and Sindhia, advised Sadashiva Rao, the Bhao, the Peshwa's kinsman, a civilian turned the *de facto* commander-in-chief of the Maratha forces, to fight in the traditional Maratha manner, avoid pitched battles and constantly harry the enemy. But the Bhao, arrogant and imperious, dismissed their advice as the chatter of goatherds and zamindars—references to the Holkar and Suraj Mal respectively. Dismayed, Suraj Mal slipped away. The idea of *Hindu pad-padshahi* had obviously been changed to that of a co-ordinated Maratha supremacy. Even this idea was not universally held. Many Marathas fought against their own country, siding with the English, for instance, if they, says R. V. Nadkarni, "did not get what they wanted at home."[34] All through and especially after 1761, the Maratha leaders quarrelled among themselves.

(c) *It was anti-Mughal, but not anti-Muslim*: The Maratha resurgence was not anti-Muslim, although some later Hindu chauvinists have painted it to be so. Shivaji gave *inam* lands and annuities to Muslim shrines and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

institutions. He revered the saint, Baba Yakut of Kelsi, as much he did Guru Ramdas.[35] He had Muslims in high employ, like Kazi Hyder, who later became Chief Justice at Delhi under Aurangzeb. His admiral, Darya Surung, was a Muslim. The best general of the Bhao was a Muslim, Ibrahim Khan Gardi. Persian was widely used in administration and according to V. K. Rajwade, Shivaji knew more Persian and Urdu than Sanskrit, although he encouraged Sanskrit learning.[36] He is habitually shown in Mughal dress—*tang pyjamas, jama, qaba, patka, sirohpa,* with Mughal style beard and moustaches. The administration, the army, all bore deep stamp of the Mughal. So closely intertwined were Mughal and Maratha strands that Baji Rao I, the great warrior-ruler, could fall madly in love with a Muslim girl, Mastani, for whom he committed suicide, and who became a *suttee* for him. This is highly symbolical, and gives a truer picture of events and processes, in spite of occasional bursts of anti-Muslim frenzy, as when Delhi was taken by storm, than that portrayed in Hindu chauvinist histories of later days. What actually was the ideal of every elite group aspiring to rule India was this—paramountcy of the group in question, friendly co-existence of all elite groups in mutual trust and respect, responsible positions in the ruling hierarchy according to merit, except at the very top. Turk, Afghan, Mughal, Sikh, Maratha, Englishman, like the Aryan and the White Hun before, all had, of necessity, to follow these principles for sheer survival.

(d) *A Theo-Aristocratic, not progressive, Assertion*: The Maratha assertion has understandably filled Marathas with pride, and the labours of the writers of the *bakhars,* of V. K. Rajwade, D. B. Parasnis, V. V. Khare, G. S. Sardesai and others give us deep insight into what actually happened. The valour of Shivaji, of Baji Rao, of Chimaji Appa and of many others cannot but be admired by all. But Maratha society was akin to the Mughal, both were Theo-Aristocratic in the last, stagnant phase, and hence not progressive. Shivaji the Great's effort to level down socio-economic barriers did not, as we have seen, succeed. Hence the Maratha assertion was Vijaynagar

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

writ large. R. V. Nadkarni has grasped the difference between the Theo-Aristocratic and the Scientific-Democratic stages well when he says that compared to "British civilization", "between the Muslim and Maratha societies it was a difference of degree of similar civilizations but between the Marathas and the British it was a difference of character of their respective cultures".[37]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 20

STAGE 7C—THE SIKH THEO-ARISTOCRATIC

(i) *Life Course*:

(a) *Periodisation*: The Sikh Theo-Aristocratic can be periodised as follows:—

First Stage—Birth of a tradition 1468-1606.
Second Stage—Militarisation 1606-1707.
Third Stage—Quest for a kingdom in the Punjab 1707-64.
Fourth Stage—The Sikh kingdom 1764-1849.

(b) *Birth of a tradition* 1468-1606: Guru Nanak (1469-1538), a Khatri of Lahore where Kabirpanthi ideas were in the air, founded a mono-theist, casteless, idol-less Transmutation religion, beyond Hinduism and Islam, which came to be known as Sikhism (Sikh—to learn). He spent the last 15 years of his life in a new village in the Punjab known as "Kartarpur" ("City of the Creator") surrounded by his followers. He was an Activist and his philosophy of work was followed by his successors. Guru Nanak started free community kitchens, *langars*, which shattered Hindu casteism. The second Guru, Angad (1538-52) opened more *langars*, invented the *Gurumukhi* script, began to compile scriptures, and encouraged physical fitness, games and competitive sports. The third Guru, Amar Das (1552-74) made the *langar* compulsory, established Sikh centres (*manjis* or "bedsteads"), and tithe collection by *masands* (Persian, *masnad*= couch). The fourth Guru, Ram Das (1574-81) was helped by Akbar to set up an establishment with a tank on a land-grant, and he increased his revenues and sent missionaries to various parts of India. His hamlet, given by Akbar, Chak Ram Das, later became the famous Amritsar. The Guruship, so far by nomination, now became hereditary. Arjun Mal (1581-1606) converted a large number of sturdy Jat peasants of the Central Punjab (*majha* country) —so far the converts had been largely Khatri businessmen

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and officials. Thus, Sikhism acquired a strong, sturdy peasant base. It also now became a religious sect different from the Hindus and the Muslims, by specially marked out customs. The *manjis* grew into *gurdwaras*, each with a *Granth Sahib* (anthology of the works of Guru Nanak and other teachers), wrapped in fine cloths under a canopy. The Amritsar temple was also founded in his time. Arjun Mal got unwittingly involved in Mughal politics and so incurred the suspicion of Jahangir, who tortured him to death.

(c) *Militarisation* 1606-1707: Under Har Gobind, the Sixth Guru (1606-44), in response to Jahangir's persecution, the Sikhs became militant. Trained Pathan soldiers under Painda Khan formed the initial core of the army. The Raja of Bilaspur gave land and the Sikhs became a property-owning, feudal, martial organisation. Fearing parallel rule, the Mughals began to persecute the Sikhs. The ninth guru, Tegh Bahadur (1664-75), who had established his headquarters at Anandpur in the foot-hills, was executed with great cruelty by the Mughals, saying as he died, *sis diya par sirr na diya* ("Gave my head, but not my faith"). His son, Guru Gobind Singh (1675-1708), the tenth preceptor, was a great poet, warrior, organiser and saint. He enunciated the theory of *guru granth panth*—the *granth* and the *panth* as the substitute for the guru. At Anandpur Sahib in 1699 he converted "jackals to lions" (Singhs), by a dramatic ceremony, as we shall see. Thus arose the *khalsa* ("the pure"). In severe fights with the Mughals, who were helped by Jaipur, Bundela and Hill Rajputs, the Sikhs conquered a series of hill forts and thus secured a military base in the Punjab. Bahadur Shah, the Peaceful, then tried to conciliate them but most of the Mughals were "hawks" and not "doves" vis-a-vis the Sikhs.

(d) *Quest for a kingdom in the Punjab* (1707-64). Banda now set up a kingdom in the Punjab (1708-15). He changed land arrangements by cutting up the land of Muslim *jagirdars* and giving them to Hindu and Sikh peasants. He thus earned the undying hatred of the Muslim aristocracy. His tactics were that of the *dhai phut* ("two and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

a half paces"), hit, run, turn back and hit again. He was ultimately defeated by the Mughals and executed with horrible cruelty. After him arose the *sarbat khalsa* (equivalent to the Islamic *umma*) and the *gurmata* or consensus doctrine (equivalent to the Islamic *ijma*). The Muslim governors of the Punjab persecuted the Sikhs and there was a massacre in 1746 at Shahidganj—the *Chota Ghallughara*— ("Little Holocaust"). But the blood of the martyrs led to the rise of the Sikh fighting groups, the *misls* (Arabic—"like"). Between 1747 and 1769 the Afghan, Ahmad Shah Abdali, invaded the Punjab nine times, in the power vacuum created by the Mughal debacle before Nadir Shah the Persian in 1739. The Abdali's repeated invasions destroyed Mughal administration in the Punjab.[1] A saying became prevalent there

Khada pita lahe da
Baki Ahmad Shahe da
(To eat and drink is all we know/For the rest to Ahmad Shah doth go).

In this milieu of continuous fighting between contending groups the Punjab came under Sikh protection (1751-72). It then changed hands, with the Marathas as masters (1752-61). The Afghans shattered Maratha power in the North at Panipat (1761) and defeated the Sikhs at Barnala in 1762—the *Vada Ghallughara* ("Big Holocaust"). But the Sikhs arose again and took Lahore in 1764. The twelve *misls*, under their *sardars*, established themselves in different parts of the Punjab. The land reforms of Banda were reversed and big landlordism restored, the Sikhs replacing the Muslims.

(e) *The Sikh Kingdom* (1764-1849) : Of the various *misls* the Bhangis under Hari Singh held Lahore and the North, and the Sukerchakias, under Maha Singh, Gujranwala. Ultimately a Sukerchakia prince, Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), aided by his astute and able mother-in-law, Sada Kaur, established a Sikh Kingdom in the Punjab, thus fulfilling Guru Gobind Singh's prophecy—*Raj Kareyga Khalsa.* (The Khalsa will rule). By now the British were on the Sutlej. After Ranjit Singh, his widow, Rani Jindan, tried to turn away the energies of the turbulent

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Sardars from against her to the British. But the latter won after pitched battles at Mudki and Ferozeshah (1845), Aliwal and Sobraon (1846) and Chilianwala and Gujarat (1849). The Punjab became a part of British India.

(ii) *Configurational Dynamics*

(a) Geography: The Hill Region helped the Sikhs as refuge areas where they could build up bastions and thus, from these bases, defy the Mughals. If the Punjab had been bereft of this, the "going" would have been much tougher.

(b) Geopolitics: Hargobind was forced to convert a peaceful movement to a martial one. Hence, the success of the Sikh religion henceforth depended, to a good extent, on a strong Sikh state, even for missionary efforts. But when this was founded the Sikhs were hemmed in and confined to the Punjab. There were Afghans in the west, the hill Rajputs and Gurkhas in the North East, the desert in the South, the Marathas and the English in the South West. The chances of Sikhism, a "universal religion", extending down the Gangetic Valley became practically nil. It remained Punjabified.

(c) Internal Relations: Brahmans and Brahmanic ideas were weak in the Punjab. As far back as the 6th century B.C. it had become an 'impure' land for orthodox Brahmans further east. It had been flooded with Mahayana Buddhist ideas. Unlike Bengal it had not known orthodox Hinduising rulers like the Senas. Half of it had become Muslim. Hence a development of the old Kabirpanthi ideas was possible here, and this is what happened.

(d) Technics: Technics was not a relevant factor in the development of Sikhism.

(e) Traditions: The weakness of the Brahmans meant that the 'Theo' element was less strong here than the 'Aristo', which was represented by the sturdy Jats, descendants of fighting invading clans, Aryans, White Huns and others, mixed up with Adivasis. These fighting traditions, hearkening back to Stage V Warrior-Nomad days, were also domocratic, under war (or work) leaders, very much like those of the Pathan *jirgahs*. Also, as wave after wave of fighting nomads, of differing tribes and clans,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

had settled in the North West, they could rarely unite. These traditions—fighting mentality, a certain democracy *inter se,* inability to unite for long periods, would strongly colour the ideas and activities of the Sikh people.

(iii) *Values and Institutions*

(a) *Ideology*: According to the *janamsakhi* (biography) Guru Nanak, (1469-1538), temporarily in the service of Daulat Khan Lodi, had a mystic vision at the age of thirty, one realisation of it being "there is no Hindu, there is no Muslim"[2]. He had been influenced by both *bhaktas* and *Sufis.* He left home, accompanied by a Muslim minstrel, Mardana, and travelled all over India and Ceylon and even went to Mecca and Medina. He spent the last 10 or 15 years of his life in the village Kartarpur ("City of the Creator"), a new one, preaching. The preamble (*mool mantra*) to the morning prayer (*japji*) taught monotheism. God is formless (*nirankar*). He is a Doer of Good (*Sat Kartar*). A good preceptor, or *guru,* is necessary to teach one about God's ways, but he was conceived as a guide, not a god, to be consulted and respected, but not worshipped. Nanak thought of himself as such a teacher. He believed in Activism, and he held up the ideal of *rāj men jog* (enlightenment in civic life), purity among the world's impurities. The *bhakti* doctrine of *nama-marga,* repeating the name, led him to the concept of *shabad,* deliverance through reciting the sacred teachings. He placed *bhakti* above ritual action (*karma marga*) and knowledge (*gyana marga*).[3] But *bhakti* or *shabad* alone was not enough. It was necessary not only to know truth, but to follow it—*sachon ore sab ko/upar such achar* (Truth is above all/above truth is truthful conduct).[4] He preached work, prayer and charity—*kirt karo, nām japo, vand chako.*[5]

An activist, he strongly disapproved of monastic otherworldliness. As regards being sustained by charity he said "Having renounced *grihastha,* why go begging at the householder's door ?"[6]

Mystic fulfilment can be obtained, not by asceticism, penance, celibacy etc., but by prayer, discipline according to one's physical capacity and temperament or *sahaj* (an

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

old Mahayana Buddhist concept), and listening to *kirtans* (hymn singing). Following the *Sufis,* he taught that there were four successive stages of salvation—*dharam Khand* (discipline), *gyan khand* (knowledge), *Karam Khand* (action) and *sach khand* (blissful merger in God). In the last stage the mind attains a state of divine bliss (*vismad*), of super-conscious stillness that one receives a vision of God (*divya drishti*) and merges one's light with the light of the eternal. He attains salvation and goes beyond the cycle of *Karma.*

Thus, all in all, Guru Nanak's doctrines were closer to Islam (in its *sufi* teachings) than Hinduism, although the social affiliations of his followers were more with the Hindus. Hindus as well as Muslims claimed him, as they had done Kabir, as his own. And in the Punjab he is still looked upon as a teacher and holy man of both groups —*Baba Nanak Shah fakir/Hindu ka guru, Musalman ka pir.*

The sixth guru, Arjun Mal (1581-1606) had the collection of the teachings of Guru Nanak and others compiled, and this came to be known as the *Granth Sahib* or *Adi Granth* ("First Book"). The Sikhs now became different from the Hindus and Muslims, with a separate Book, rituals (but no cadre of priests), ceremonies for initiation, marriage, death etc. Arjun's *sukhmani* (psalm of peace) is very popular. He wrote in this psalm—*sarb dharm men shresht dharm hari ka nam jap nirmal karm* (Of all creeds the best is to pray to God and do good deeds).

Har Gobind, son of Arjun Mal, who had been tortured to death by the Mughals, militarised Sikhism. At his installation ceremony he had two swords round his waist; one to symbolise spiritual power, the other temporal.

The last guru, Guru Gobind Singh, developed the doctrine of Har Gobind. The *karha* or steel bangle, which he ordained that every Sikh should wear, stood for an aspect of God, *sarb loh* (all steel), one of his favourite names for Him. There are verses to the sword and to weapons in Guru Gobind Singh's religious poetry[7] and he declared in Persian[8]—

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Cu kar az hama hilate dur guzast,
halal ast burdan ba samsir dast.
(When all other means have failed, it is permissible to draw the sword).

(b) *Society* : Guru Nanak, as has been stated earlier, instituted the *langar* or communal kitchen, thus striking at the very root of caste, the idea of pollution. He himself took turns to serve as a cook or to scrub utensils, and it came to be taught—*Dana pani guru ka/Tehal seva sikhan di* (Food and drink are the guru's gifts/Service and devotion are contributed by his disciples). A new form of salutation became common among the Sikhs which ultimately developed into *sat sri akal* ("Truth, Harmony, Eternal"), a name of God.

The third guru, Amar Das, made the *langar* compulsory—*pehle pangat piche sangat* (first sit in a row in a kitchen, then seek the company of the guru). He was against purdah, for monogamy, inter-caste alliances, remarriage of widows. He expressly forbade the worship of idols and of emblems.[8]

At Anandpur Sahib on Baisakhi day in 1699 Guru Gobind Singh demanded men for sacrifice. He took them one by one to a tent and reappeared, his sword dripping with blood, until five had offered themselves. The guru then came out with the five "victims" (he had really slaughtered goats) and introduced them to the delighted but awe-struck audience as the *panj piyare* (the five beloved ones), the nucleus of a new community, the *Khalsa* or pure (from the Arabic—*khalis*). Gobind said he would mix the four castes (*varnas*) into one, like the four ingredients of *pan* (betel leaf), which when chewed, produces only one colour (red). He introduced an initiation ceremony consisting of drinking consecrated sweetened water stirred with a dagger (*pahul* or *powl*). Gobind himself was initiated by his five followers. Henceforth all the members were to be known as "Singhs" (Lions). He gave the *Khalsa,* five *K's* (*Kakas*)—*Kesh* (unshorn hair and beard), *kangha* (comb in the hair for tidiness), *kachha* (knee-length breeches instead of the *dhoti*), *karha* (steel

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

bracelet on the right wrist) and *kirpan* (sabre). He allowed those who did not accept these innovations to be still in the Sikh fold, calling them *Sahajdharis* ("Easy-goers" or "Slow Adopters"), as distinct from the *Keshadharis* ("hairy ones"). He declared that he had merged his identity in the *khalsa,* and that "the khalsa is exactly like me"—*khalsa mero rup hai khas.* Henceforth there would be no more gurus. And, creating the Sikh community as we know it today, the *khalsa,* he gave it a stirring war-cry—*wah guru ji ka khalsa/Wah guru ji ki fateh* (Hail the chosen of the guru/hail, victory to the guru).

(c) *Politics*: After the horrible execution of Banda Bahadur in 1716 the ruthless, tough, able and Machiavellian governors of the Punjab—Abdus Samad Khan, Zakarya Khan, Yahya Khan, Shah Nawaz, Mir Muin-ud-din (Mir Mannu) etc.—began a savage persecution of the Sikhs (with some concilliation efforts in-between) as they feared an alternate or parallel government. Sikhs were outlawed, and so forced out of agriculture to soldiery and to banditry. So a vicious cycle set in—oppression, abandonment of land, less production, more rack-renting, more abandonment of land, more flocking to the Sikh colours, a process harmful to the Mughals. In this dire time of troubles Sikhs recalled Guru Gobind Singh's doctrine that wherever there are five Sikhs, he would be there among them :—

> Panchon men nit bartat main hun
> Panch milan so piran pir.

This concept was extended. The Sikhs now met twice, at Baisakhi and Diwali, at Amritsar, and the assemblies came to be known as the *Sarbat Khalsa,* similar to the Islamic *umma.* Unanimous decisions, by consensus (identical with the Islamic *ijma*) were known as *gurmatas* (decree of the guru), as it was believed that the khalsa was an embodiment of the Guru, "and that all their assemblies were rendered sanctimonious by the Guru's presence in them."[9] *Jathedars* were chosen by the *Sarbat Khalsa* to represent them in negotiations with the Mughals. For fighting purposes the *Sarbat Khalsa* came to be divided

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

into *misls* or militias, each of about 20,000 people, with one leader and one *langar* for every *misl*. The twelve *misls* were Bhangi, Ahluwalia, Ramgarhia, Sukerchakia, Kanheya, Nakkai, Phoolkia, Singhpuria, Nishania, Krora Singhia, Dulewalia and Shahid.

Unfortunately, the *misls* also quarrelled among themselves. Ever since Aryan days the militant groups of the Punjab, coming as separate fighting clans and tribes, wave after wave, fought among themselves, neutralising each other, and so never able to build an Indian Empire, to which their valour entitled them, unlike the unified Mauryas, Guptas, the near-imperial Marathas, Turks, Mughals and British. Said Jsam-ud-din of them :[10] "In the country of the Punjab from the Indus to the banks of the Jumna there are thousands of chiefs in the Sikh community. None obeys the other..... When a village is besieged by the Sikhs to realise tribute which the zamindars cannot afford, they intrigue with other Sikhs, and the Sikhs begin to fight between themselves." This in-fighting and treachery (Ambhi against Porus still, as in Alexander's time) was partly responsible for the Sikh reverses in the First Sikh War against the British, at Mudki and Ferozeshah in 1845 and at Aliwal in 1846.

(d) *Economics* : In the five years 1710-15, Banda changed the class structure of South Punjab, liquidating many of the big Muslim *zamindar* families of Malwa, and the Jullundur doab. Large estates were broken up into smaller holdings and given to Sikh or Hindu peasants.[11] The infuriated Muslim landlords set the *mullahs* to rouse the Muslim peasantry against the Khalsa.

Bunda's land reforms were reversed later, as were Shivaji's. The feudal forces were too strong. The Sikh chieftains under the *misls* regrouped holdings to form large estates, with themselves as feudal lords.[12]

(e) *Science and Technology* : Like the Theo-Aristocratic Marathas the Theo-Aristocratic Sikhs were weak in science and technology. It is true that Ranjit Singh was passionately fond of guns,[13] but all the training was imported by European officers like Allard, Ventura, Avitabile, Court etc. who supervised the ordnance also.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(f) *Culture*: Many of the Sikh religious teachers. like Guru Nanak, Amar Das, Arjun Mal were also fine poets in Punjabi. Guru Gobind Singh knew four languages—Punjabi, Hindi, Persian and Sanskrit, and was an intellectual as well as a fighter. He rewrote stories from Hindu mythology, his favourite being the exploits of the Goddess Chandi (Durga). He also wrote gracious love poetry, "of moonlit nights made heavy with the fragrance of wild jasmine and of lovers' trysts by the Jumna, sparkling like a stream of quicksilver through the black mountains."[14]

SUMMATION

(i) *No Sikh-Muslim but basically Sikh-Mughal confrontation*: The Mughals feared the Sikhs as they did *not* fear the passive, weaponless Kabirpanthis and Vaishnavas. The Sikhs were similar to them in all respects and could provide an alternative government, which the Hindus could not. Conversion from Islam to the similar religion of Sikhism was possible, much less so to idolatrous Hinduism. Hence, the Sikhs were feared from the ideological point of view also. Hence, the horrible atrocities and cruelties of Zakarya Khan (1726-48) and Mir Mannoo (1748-53), when Sikhs were slain at sight, and carried in hundreds and thousands to be slain in public in the Bazaah-Nakhas at Lahore. But the Sikhs never lost their balance. Earlier, even when Farrukhsiyar had ordered a general massacre of the Sikhs in 1710, Banda had said, shortly afterwards "I do not oppose the Muslims", and there is Mughal testimony that he practised what he preached.[15] And, even after the atrocities of Zakarya Khan and Mir Mannoo, when Machar fell to Maha Singh Sukerchakia, the sacred relics of the Prophet Muhammad and of other Muslim culture-heroes were preserved by him, with all reverence, in his *haveli* at Gujranwala.[16]

There had always been cooperation with Muslims also. Sikhism itself owed much to Islamic ideology—its monotheism, castelessness, abhorrence of idols, congregational worship, the *sarbat khalsa* (*umma*), and *gurmata* (*ijma*) doctrines etc. Hargobind, Tegh Bahadur and Gobind Singh had been officers in the Mughal army, and had Muslim

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

soldiers, as had Banda. Guru Nanak's favourite travelling companion, Mardana, was a Muslim; Mian Mir, the friend of Arjun Mal, who laid the foundation stone of the Harimandir at Amritsar, was a Muslim divine; and the poet who roused Hargobind's followers to martial frenzy, Abdullah, was also a Muslim. On the other hand, quite a number of Hindus opposed the Sikhs. Chandu was instrumental in the torture and martyrdom of Arjun Mal, Sucha Nand egged on Wazir Khan to bury alive Guru Gobind Singh's young sons, Lakhpat Rai was mainly responsible for the massacre of the Sikhs in 1746. The Hindu hill rajas were both friends as well as a constant thorn in the flesh of the Sikhs. The picture, therefore, is not black-and-white Muslim *versus* Sikh, but many-coloured.

(ii) *A separate feudal, sub-civilization*: The Sikhs were neither Hindus nor Muslims nor a syncretistic mixture of both, but a distinct feudal entity, the Third Theo-Aristocratic Indian (the Aryo-Hindu was the First, the Turko-Mughal the Second), separate because of their distinctive religion, scripture, rituals etc. This is symbolised by the special style of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, with a "large dome shaped like a squashed onion,"[17] surrounded by smaller ones in the Mughal style. This separateness was clear as early as the beginning of the 17th century, and is brought out in a verse of Guru Arjun Mal[18]:—

I do not keep the Hindu fast, nor the Muslim Ramadan
I serve Him alone who is my refuge.
I serve the one Master, who is also Allah.
I have broken with the Hindu and the Muslim,
I will not worship with the Hindu,
nor like the Muslim go to Mecca,
I shall serve Him and no other.
I will not pray to idols nor say the Muslim prayer.
I shall put my heart at the feet of one Supreme Being,
For we are neither Hindus nor Muslims.

(iii) *Ranjit Singh's State not a Punjabi Subah*: Apart from European instructors Ranjit Singh had Gurkha battalions in his service.[19] The Official Language was Persian, although Ranjit Singh gave orders in Punjabi.[20]

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

His advisers, ministers and officers were drawn from all sources.[21] His most trusted adviser was perhaps his Foreign Minister, Fakir Aziz-ud-din, a Punjabi Muslim. Aziz-ud-din's brothers, Nur-ud-din and Imam-ud-din, were also in Ranjit Singh's service. Raja Dina Nath was a Kashmiri; Khushal Chand or Khushal Singh, a Brahman from Meerut; Dhian Singh, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, Dogras from Jammu; General Misr Dewan Chand and General Mokham Chand were Punjabi Brahmans. Among the Sikh notables was the famous Hari Singh "Nalwa' (who cleft the head of a tiger with one blow), the dashing and handsome Hira Singh, Akali Phula Singh, Lehna Singh Majithia etc.; and among the Muslim nobles were Sarfaraz Khan, Khuda Yar Khan Tiwana etc. It cannot be said, seeing the provenance of his chief advisers and generals, that Ranjit Singh practised Punjabi nationalism. Nor did he do so in theory, by any speech or dictated order. Like Akbar the Great, Ranjit Singh the Great was tolerant in his religious outlook, and took his best men from wherever he could. Geographically he was restricted to the north-west, and so perforce had to draw his men from that source.

(iv) *The weakness of the Theo-Aristocratic Sikh Civilization/Its constrictions*: The 'Theo' side of the Sikh Theo-Aristocratic is of Democratic origin. Its ideas are consistent with the Scientific-Democratic ethos. One can be a devout Sikh and a devoted nuclear physicist without having a split-personality. But the 'Aristo' side is against Progress. If the British had not barred the way the Sikh Theo-Aristocratic may have spread to the Gangetic Valley and evolved to Theo-Mercantile, Rational Mercantile and Scientific-Democratic Stages. We could then have had Bengali Sikhs, and by radiation, perhaps Tamil Sikhs also—one faith, a democratic one, of the same ethos as the Punjabi Sikhs. Guru Nanak's Universal Religion may then have spread outside India also. This possibility is one of the great and tantalising "ifs" of history.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 21

COMPARISON OF BASIC ATTITUDES OF THE THREE INDIAN THEO-ARISTOCRATIC SOCIETIES

GENERAL

IN CHAPTER 15 the Aryo-Hindu Theo-Aristocratic (Stage VIIA) was compared with seven Theo-Aristocratic societies from all over the world—Chinese, Japanese, Turko-Persian Islamic, Spartan Greek, Roman, West European ("Medieval") and Russian ("Medieval"). It was seen that there were great similarities in "Consciousness", in Basic Attitudes and in Values and Institutions. It was also seen that Scientific-Democratic Basic Attitudes and Values were entirely different. The treatment in this matter in Chapter 15 is the backdrop to the comparisons in this.

COMPARISON OF "CONSCIOUSNESSES"

(i) General: Stage VII Consciousness is an amalgam of the Consciousnesses of Stages V (Warrior Nomads) and VI (Theo-Technocrats). The Stage V (Warrior-Nomad) Ethos or Consciousness is—war as a way of life/daring/organised violence/loyalty to in-group to death/lavishness /Code of Life fixed and intransgressible. The Stage VI (River Valley Theo-Technocrat) Ethos or Consciousness is —Exclusive monopoly of knowledge/born out of rule of thumb methods, still enmeshed in mythopoeia/credulity exploitation.

In the Theo-Aristocratic we have a mixture of Theocratic charisma and credulity-exploitation, aristocratic force, peasant obedience, and ultimately the Soft Life for the upper classes in the economic field.

(ii) Hindu-Indians (VIIA): The Brahmans represented the charisma and credulity-exploitation side. The original Kshatriyas more or less wiped each other out because of excessive fighting, except for the republicans, who became Jats. But later came various fighting peoples from outside, grouped as "Rajputs". All became mixed up with

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

the Adivasis, priestly or fighting as the case may be, through polygamy and concubinage, directly or indirectly. Thus the ideas and customs of Stages I (Food-Gatherers), II (Hunters), III (Matrifocal Agriculturists) and IV (Early Technologists), all became inextricably intertwined with those of Stages V & VI, but it was basically Theo-Aristocratic. In the comparisons here the final values and formulations are taken. The Kshatriya suicide tilted the scales in favour of "Theo' values.

(iii) Muslim-Indian (VII B) : Here the fighting element is stronger—the *ahl-i-saif* over the *ahl-i-qalam*. Otherwise there is the same mixture. Because of the comparative weakness of the 'Theo' element, vis-a-vis the 'Aristo' there is less of superstitiousness than in the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic.

(iv) Sikh-Indian (VII C) : The ethos is very much like VII B (Muslim-Indian). Because of the heritage of the Republican Aryo-Indian warriors, with the amalgam of other foreign and native warriors (*jata*—"bound together"—later Jats) the fighting element is even stronger than in the Muslim-Indian.

Comparison of Values and Institutions

(i) *Science and Technology*

(a) *General* : Extension of an idea, of a technique, and chance discoveries and improvements rather than a continuous series of innovations and inventions.

(b) *First Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (*Aryo-Hindu Indian*) : The main achievement was the use of the bellows, which helped to produce iron more easily. The Theocrats extended their knowledge of medicine, star lore etc. But there was nothing fundamental, as in Indusian days.

(c) *Second Indian Theo-Aristocratic* : (Muslim-Indian).

(d) *Third Indian Theo-Aristocratic* : (Sikh-Indian).

No innovation worth mentioning.

(ii) *Economy*

(a) *General* : The Basic Attitudes pertain to 'Work' and 'Duty' and it is a mixture of Theocratic charisma and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

credulity exploitation and Aristocratic force on the one hand; and peasant obedience on the other.

(b) *First Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Aryo-Hindu Indian).

The Shudra helots did all the work for the Aryo-Indian masters, so much so that the elite class came to look down upon all kind of manual work. Accustomed to huge numbers of servants—descendants of Food Gatherers—and so to a Soft and Easy Life for centuries, the elite groups are physically among the laziest in the world.

(c) *Second Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Muslim Indian).

More or less similar to the Hindu Indian in origin and development. The Later Mughals and Lucknow nawabs are bywords of luxury and physical laziness.

(d) *Third Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Sikh Indian)

As most Sikhs were Jat peasants originally the work ethic is strong. But the elite groups (maharajahs etc.) have shown the same weaknesses as those of the Hindu-Indian and the Muslim-Indian.

(iii) *Family and Society*

(a) *General*: Basic attitudes concerned—To Fellow Men/Man-Woman relationship. Society was everywhere class divided—Warriors, Priests, Merchants, Labouring Classes; and woman was held to be inferior to man, her role being to serve her lord and husband, to please him, to bear and rear his children. In society there was continuous class-conflict.

(b) *First Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Aryo-Hindu Indian)

Varna-jati society; women held to be inferior—Manu's tirades; class conflicts—Brahman *v* Kshatriya: Brahman and Kshatriya *v* Vaishya; Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya *v* Shudra; Shudra *v* Untouchables.

(c) *Second Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Muslim Indian).

Division of society into *ashraf, ajlaf* and *riazil;* of the *ashraf* into *ahl-i-saif* and *ahl-i-qalam,* equivalent to Kshatriyas and Brahmans respectively. *Kufv* laws regarding marriages. Inferiority of women—*purdah.* Conflicts between various classes of Muslims, foreign *v* Indian; foreign *v* foreign.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(d) *Third Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Sikh-Indian).

The Jat heritage is of equality—that of warrior nomad fighters turned peasants. But feudal class groupings remained—Khatri or Arora, Jat, Mazhabi ("Low Class"). Women less subordinate than among Hindus and Muslims, but still held inferior to men. Fights between various *misls* and groups.

(iv) *Politics/Administration, Military Affairs*

(a) *General*: Basic attitudes involved—fighting, duty, justice. Here there is division of the 'Theo' and 'Aristo' elements, due to political rivalry. The warriors were fighters, often with the Gunther-Hagen mentality of overlord-vassal mutual loyalty. Usually warriors overshadowed the priests, but warrior-priest rivalry existed everywhere. Justice was class divided—The Gunther-Hagen mentality, at the end, breaks down in dynastic and baronial strifes and in feudal insubordination.

(b) *First Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Aryo-Hindu Indian).

Brahmans and Kshatriyas, priests and warriors, and their rivalry. After the Kshatriya suicide Theocratic domination of society. Justice was caste divided, *vide* the *dharma-shastras*, like that of Manu. And after repeated attempts at centralisation (Maurya, Gupta, Harsha's), India settled down to a system of constant dynastic and baronial (*samanta*) strifes and of feudal insubordination.

(c) *Second Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Muslim Indian).

Rivalry between the *ahl-i-saif* (gentlemen of the sword) and *ahl-i-qalam* (gentlemen of the pen). The former superior. Islam a Theo-Mercantile religion and hence Islamic justice continued to be more rational than Theo-Aristocratic justice, even after reversion to this stage, as the law codes were part of the *sharia*, and so sacrosanct. Feudal insubordination led to the end of the centralised Turkish and Rajput paramountcies.

(d) *Third Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Sikh Indian).

Initially the Sikh priests of the *gurdwaras* (*mahants*) were subordinated to the congregation, but later there were strifes between the two, in British times. It may have

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

developed in any case, if Sikh rule had a chance to be longer-lived. Sikh justice was the old Mughal justice. Feudal insubordination began no sooner did Ranjit Singh the Great close his eyes and was partly responsible for the Sikh defeats in the hands of the British.

(v) *Ideology*/ (vi) *Culture*

(a) *General*: 'Theo' element—religious ideas very important, they suffuse the arts and architecture. The 'Aristo' element expresses itself in hero-lays and grim fortresses etc., to start with. Both 'Theo' and 'Aristo' together leading to ever-increasing degrees of sophistication in culture.

(b) *First Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Aryo-Hindu Indian): The 'Theo' element is seen in the Vedas, the Upanishadic speculations, the Karma doctrine, the Pauranic Hindu syncretism, the Gita ideas, the logomachy and mysticism of Shankara, Ramanuja, Madhava, the Nayanars and Alvars and the Tantriks.

The hero-cult of Indra was followed by bardic lays which led to the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*. Later came the sophisticated Sanskrit classics—of Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti etc.

The old palaces and temples have gone. But the Rajagriha walls are impressive indeed. And the surviving temples are suffused with religious art.

(c) *Second Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Muslim-Indian): On the 'Theo' side there were the Sufis, the philosophy of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, Akbar's *Din-Ilahi*, the *hadith* tradition of Abdul Haqq Dehlavi, the ideas of Shah Waliullah. The grim fortress of Tughlakabad gave place to the magnificent and elegant Mughal palaces of Agra and Delhi. Mosques and tombs testify to the strength of the 'Theo' side. The world-famous Taj Mahal is a tomb. Mughal miniatures and Hindusthani Classical Music are indicators of the sophistication of Muslim-Indian life. In letters we have histories and biographies (analogue of hero-lays), the *tarikhs* and *tabaqats*, and hagiographies, the *Safinats-ul-auliyas*. The cultivation of Persian literature helped in the development of a sophisticated Urdu one.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(d) *Third Indian Theo-Aristocratic* (Sikh-Indian) : The 'Theo' element is seen in the Sikh scriptures—the *Adi Grantha* or *Granth Sahib,* the *Sanamsakhis* (biographies), the *Vars* etc. These are hero-lays also. Guru Gobind Singh wrote on the exploits of Chandi and also sophisticated love poetry. The *gurdwaras* are excellent and tasteful blends of Muslim and Hindu architecture, more the former than the latter, and full of Sikh ideology and Sikh heroism.

Comparison of Basic Attitudes Inter Se among the three Theo-Aristocracies and with Scientific-Democratic

1. *Science and Technology*

(*i*) *Thinking*/ (*ii*) *Teachers*: In the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic the 'Theo' came to predominate, as we have seen in Chapter 15. In the Theocratic understanding intuition is more important than reasoning. Knowledge is a gift of the gods and of the *gurus.* Independent thinking is suppresed. As in the case of Theocrats everywhere *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* to prolong existing thought-structures is resorted to. Knowledge is a monopoly of the Theocrat, who is arrogant, who "knows all". The *Guru* is here a god.

The Muslim in its Theo-Aristocratic form stuck to the *sharia,* to *bila qayf,* believing without reasoning. And to *la bida fils Islam*—no innovation in Islam. Teachers are deeply respected, but they are not gods.

The Sikh Theo-Aristocratic had no chance to develop, hemmed in as it was. But the 'Theo' constraint being practically nil it was much freer in its attitude to thinking and to teachers. Guru Nanak emphasised that he was only a guide and Guru Gobind Singh saw no difference between himself and other members of the *Khalsa.*

For Scientific-Democratic Man experimentation, innovation and independent thinking is a Way of Life. Even charladies think for themselves in all matters. The "scientist", a new category of human beings, is humble before Nature and facts. The teacher is a guide, an equal whose views and opinions can be openly criticised.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

2. *Economics*

(*iii*) *Working*: In the Theo-Aristocracies, Soft and Easy Life for the elite, hard work for the peasant. In the Sikh Theo-Aristocratic, because of the Jat common soldier-peasant tradition, the work ethic is strong. In the Scientific-Democratic work is a Way of Life. Work is systematised. Factory Management, Management Science, etc.

3. *Family and Society*

(*iv*) *Relations with Fellow Men*/ (*v*) *Hierarchy Sense* (*vi*) *Relations between Man and Woman*: In the Hindu and Muslim Theo-Aristocracies there is class-division and man is *Homo-Hierarchicus*. In the Sikh Theo-Aristocratic there is more of the tradition of warrior-democracy under *sardars, jathedars* etc. (equivalent to the Germanic *Kriegsherren*). In all these three societies woman is inferior to man but the shades vary. Marriages are generally "arranged" on family etc. considerations. Scientific-Democratic Man believes in complete social democracy and in a classless society. He/She is tending to believe in Unisex and in the abolition of all sexual discrimination as goals. Romantic instead of arranged marriages has come to be the practice.

4. *Politics/Administration/Military Affairs*

(*vii*) *Duty sense* (*viii*) *Fighting Spirit* (*ix*) *In-group/ Out-group feeling* (*x*) *Justice*: To the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, more 'Theo' than 'Aristo', duty is mainly to the caste group. Fighting is a *dharma* only for the Kshatriyas. Others believe in Pacifism (a heritage of Stage I—Food-Gatherers and Stage III—Matrifocal Agriculturists) and in substitute non-violent psychological pressures instead of direct force. Hence, greater use of guile and duplicity. Sense of justice only within the *jati*.

To the Muslim the unit of loyalty, for duty sense and justice, is the community or *umma*. In-group feeling is strong in a land where Muslims are in a minority. As the *ahl-i-saif* has been more important than the *ahl-i-qalam*, in Indian-Islam the sword is much more important than the pen.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

To the Sikh the corresponding unit is the *Sarbat Khalsa*. As a fighting group the fighting spirit is still stronger than the Muslim.

To Scientific-Democratic Man of Europe and America (and now Japan) the 'nation' is the political unit. Believer in Political Democracy for all. Beginnings of Federal World feelings. Born out of fighting societies, but longing for world peace. Equality before law largely a fact because of widespread literacy and affluence.

5. *Ideology*

(*xi*) *Epistemology* (*xii*) *Metaphysics* (*xiii*) *Theology/ Eschatology* (*xiv*) *Ethics* :

Epistemology (Obtaining Knowledge)

Hindu	Revelation, given by gods and goddesses to *rishis* (seers).
Muslim	Revelation, Allah to the Prophet Muhammad. Embodied in the *Sharia*.
Sikh	Revelation, God to the *gurus*.
Scientific-Democratic Man	Knowledge and understanding based on sense perceptions and reasoning.

Metaphysics

Hindu Muslim Sikh	World beyond can only be grasped through intuition and revelation. Rich metaphysics, specially in the 'Theo' tilted Hindu Theo-Aristocratic.
Scientific-Democratic Man	Metaphysics, i.e. speculation about matters which cannot be uncovered by science and reasoning must nevertheless conform with the understanding about the known world.

Theology/ Eschatology

Pauranic or Syncretic Hindu	Many gods and goddesses exist. The world is *leela* or sport of the deities. Eternal cycle of births and deaths because of *Karma*. *Mukti* or salvation, of the Good Man, going to Vaikuntha or Kailasha to enjoy a life of bliss.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Muslim	Allah is the only Divine Being. Not portrayed, but generally thought of as masculine, like an Arabian sheikh. Alla's will is inscrutable and one must submit to it. Delightful Heaven for good Muslims, terrible Hell for all others.
Sikh	God is formless. Theology and eschatology not much developed.
Scientific-Democratic	Agnosticism/Atheism. Scepticism/Liberal Humanism/Existentialism. Gropings for a new Philosophy of Life.

Ethics

Hindu	Prescribed in the *darma shastras.*
Muslim	Prescribed in the *sharia.*
Sikh	Prescribed in the *Granth Sahib.*
Scientific-Democratic	Various schools—Liberal Humanism/Revolutionary Humanism (Marxism)/Social Darwinists—Competition Philosophy/Gropings for a New Philosophy of Life.

6. *Culture*

(*xv*) *Gregariousness* (*xvi*) *Eating and Drinking* (*xvii*) *Attitude to Fine Arts, literature etc.* (*xviii*) *Attitude to the Past.*

Gregariousness

Hindu	Restricted to the *jati.*
Muslim	Restricted to the *umma,* people of the Book, and people Islamised in culture.
Sikh	To all fighting and jolly people.
Scientific-Democratic	To the entire nation. Potentially to the whole world.

Eating and Drinking

Hindu	Full of *taboos,* going back to Stage I of Civilisation (Food Gatherers).
Muslim	Hearty in eating, except pork. Drinking frowned upon.
Sikh	Free eater (except beef) and drinker.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Scientific-Democratic	Free eater and drinker, no taboo.

Attitude to Fine Arts, Literature etc.

Hindu Muslim Sikh	Best appreciated when suffused with religiosity. Preference for parochial themes. Monumental architecture, largely of palaces and places of worship. Art and music aristocratic (leaving out folk art and folk music).
Scientific-Democratic	Democracy and Feminism in literature and the arts. Types—Romantic/Socio-Psychological / Realo-Idealist / Radical, depending on the proportion of the Scientific-Democratic mix. Beyond this—Surrealism, of discontented, frustrated souls. Democracy in monumental buildings.

Attitude to the Past

Hindu Muslim Sikh	Reverential, conservative.
Scientific-Democratic	Scientific analysis Debunking Also writings in the five categories mentioned above—Romantic/Socio-Psychological / Realo-Idealist / Radical/Surrealist.

Results of the Comparisons

It is very clear from the above comparisons that the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, the Muslim Theo-Aristocratic and the Sikh Theo-Aristocratic are much more akin to each other than they are to the Scientific-Democratic, which is qualitatively quite different. Of course, as between these Theo-Aristocratic societies there are differences in nuance. The Hindu is more 'Theo' than 'Aristo', and is more syncretistic also, having absorbed many culture traits of earlier stages, chiefly I (Food Gatherers) and III (Matri-focal

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Agriculturists). The Sikh hearkens back, more than the other two, to the days of the Warrior Nomads (Stage V). These differences are expressed (unfairly and in an exaggerated way) in the well-known saying of the Punjab among its Muslims—the Hindu thinks but does not act, the Sikh acts but does not think, the Muslim both thinks and acts.

The main differences between the Scientific-Democratic and the Theo-Aristocratic is the great stress the former lays on the Life of Reason. Vast qualitative differences flow out of this differences in the Ethos, the Consciousness, the Frame of Mind. Life is a compound of the cerbellum (sheer animal will to live), thalamus (emotions, feelings) and the cerebrum (intellect). The Life of Reason and Intellect has led us so far forward by guiding the cerbellum and the thalamus. There is more of the Life of Reason in the Theo-Mercantile (Stage 8) than in the Theo-Aristocratic, more in the Rational-Mercantile (Stage 9) than in the Theo-Mercantile, and more in the Scientific-Democratic (Stage 10) than in the Rational-Mercantile. Our defeats, of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, have been basically due to the lack of Science and Technology (as we have seen), which is again due to the weakness, almost the lack, of the Life of Reason. If we have more of the Life of Reason then we shall see the fatuousness and dangerousness (surrounded by actual or potential enemies as we are) of our Values and Institutions in various functions of life, and will have to give them up, disregarding Ultra-Nationalism and Parochialism.

Why are there so few Muslims in India?

Leaving out Pakistan and Bangla Desh, the percentage of Muslims in the Indian sub-continent is only of the order of about 11%. Given the democracy of Islam, its simplicity and austerity compared with Pauranic Hinduism, why is the percentage so small? We have seen in Chapter 17 that the Sultans and the *Ulema* cared little for conversions. That was mainly the work of the *Sufis*. And the *Sufis* did not have a *tabula rasa*. In former Buddhist areas, (the North West and East Bengal), now leaderless (as we shall see in Chapter 22) the invading Muslims achieved specta-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

cular success in conversions. Elsewhere the independent Brahman and wandering ascetics in the villages marshalled their flocks closely and kept them behind them. The counteravailing Sufi organisation was not detailed enough, did not go deep down to the grass roots. The Aryo-Indians and Hindus took 2000 years, with a *tabula rasa* (in the matter of a 'Higher' Religion) before they could achieve a syncretism. Even in centres near the Islamic homelands, in Iran, the Muslims took over 400 years to convert Fars to Zoroastrianism.[1] There were very few converts in South East Europe despite over 500 years of Turkish rule, except in hilly Albania, where presumably Christian ecclesiastical organisation was not very strong. Therefore, it is seen that where an older faith is strongly entrenched it is not easy to dislodge it. It is possible that, the 11% of Muslims mentioned above is largely made up of descendants of former Buddhists (weavers, artisans, urban workers etc.) or those dependent on the Court for a living (mercenary soldiers, cooks, musicians, gardeners etc.) or those with close associations with foreign merchants, Persians and Arabs, who now became Muslims after the birth of Islam (Khatris in the North West, Bohras, Memons, Khojas, Cutchis, Mappilais in the West Coast etc.). It is tantalising to speculate what would have happened if the *Sufis* were more intensely organised and if the whole of India had become Muslim. The history of South Asia and the present-day Configuration of Forces would have been dramatically different.

Why was Sikhism Restricted Mainly to the Punjab?

The Sikh faith is now basically a Punjabi faith although the number of Sindhis of Sikh persuasion are many. And yet the developed Kabirpanthi ideas taught by Guru Nanak and the earlier Sikh gurus constitute a Universal Religion. Sikhism got entangled in Mughal politics and had to be militarised by Hargobind and his successors, specially Guru Gobind Singh. This militarisation meant its taking a local form. Nevertheless if Sikh power had spread over the Gangetic Valley it may well have converted the whole of Hindu North India. It would have been an acceptable

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Transmutation of Islam and Bhakti-Hinduism, and many Brahmans themselves would have adopted it and developed its theology and eschatology. But, alas, it was not to be so. The couple of centuries or so necessary for the purpose was denied to the Sikhs, for already the British West Europeans, belonging to a higher stage of civilisation, were firmly entrenched in North India.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER 22

STAGE 8A—THEO-MERCANTILE BUDDHIST SOCIETY

Origins and Life Course

As the Gangetic forests were cleared, and agricultural surpluses achieved, trade grew, and there was a Second Urban Revolution (the first was in the North-West in the Indusian Period). This was a Theo-Mercantile Civilization from 7th century B.C. to 9th Century A.D. Its ideology was Buddhism. It intersected and criss-crossed with the Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, which ultimately absorbed and devoured it when it regressed into the Theo-Aristocratic. It passed through four phases:

Phase I 700-300 B.C. Origins of the Theo-Mercantile traditions.

Phase II 300-200 B.C. Growth.

Phase III 200 B.C.-300 A.D. Zenith, Maturity.

Phase IV 300-800 A.D. Closure, Regression to the Theo-Aristocratic. Logomachy, Mysticism.

In the first phase (700-300 B.C.) the growth of riverine trade and of cities led to the growth of a prosperous mercantile class from the ordinary Aryan people, the *vish*. Two big highway—*Uttarapath* ("Northern Way") and *Dakshinapath* ("Southern Way") helped in this significantly. The kings, eager to have allies against the barons, helped the merchants, *setthis*, with villages for support income, the *bhoga-gramas*. Increased trade gave a fillip to craftsmen, artisans etc. These merchants, artisans, displaced Adivasis, etc. patronised and followed new doctrines which were simpler, more humane and more ethical than the old ones, like Buddhism and Jainism.

In Phase 2 (300-200 B.C.) the Maurya Emperor Ashoka the Great became Buddhist, gave it State patronage, applied it as a Doctrine of Social Harmony to ease internal tensions in his Empire. This ultimately failed, for reasons which we shall see. But Ashoka, tolerant, charitable, gave a fillip to the Buddhist ethos in the country with its belief in pacifism, vegetarianism and teetotalism.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

In the third phase (200 B.C.-300 A.D.). Pax Sinica, Pax Romana and Pax Iraniana helped the Kushan Buddhist Emperors of the North-West (their territories included parts of Central Asia) in a thriving international trade. Indian trading colonies dotted Central Asia right to China. South India and the Deccan participated in the trade with Rome, with their own produce, and with spices from South East Asia. There was cross-fertilisation with Zoroastrian ideas in the North West, and a new school of Buddhism, less austere, more human, arose, the Mahayana. This spread to Central Asia and China. The original school, the Hinayana, went along with the spice trade to South East Asia.

In the fourth phase (300-800 A.D.), the breakdown of the Roman Empire, disruption of the overland trade routes and the gradual control of sea routes by the Arabs with their better and faster ships fitted with lateen sails for beating the wind and stern-post rudders[1] for greater accuracy in navigation, led to reversion to more or less complete Theo-Aristocracy. The Theo-Mercantile Arabs were thus more successful because of their superiority in technology.

Configurational Dynamics

Phase I (700-300 B.C.). The growth forces were Internal—increasing trade. The merchants, *vaishyas,* forced to pay exorbitant taxes like the *bali* for costly *yajnas,* growing more and more elaborate, turned to more humane, rational and less costly faiths like Buddhism as the story of Bavari in the *Sutta nipata* illustrates. The Brahmans and Kshatriyas were tax-exempt. We know from donatory records for Buddhist shrines that the supporters of Buddhism were largely merchants. Military people, especially from the eastern republics, which had been crushed, also turned to Buddhism.[2] So did the slave and the helot, torn away from the warm embrance of their tribes.

Phase II (300-200 B.C.). The Maurya Police State and Terror created intolerable tension between all classes of people. Adivasi tribes were being uprooted to work on land. The *vish* controlled trade and industry, and apparently the *paura* councils in the towns. But their social

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and ritual importance was very low, as compared to the Brahmans and Kshatriyas. Hence they turned more and more to religions like Jainism and Buddhism. To mitigate tensions Ashoka applied Buddha's doctrine of *Dhamma* as we shall see later.

Phase III (200 B.C.-300 A.D.). The main thing to note is the rich cross-fertilization with foreign ideas in the North West—leading to Mahayana Buddhism, the Buddha image and the spread of Buddhism to Central Asia and China.

Phase IV (300-800 A.D.). Here again External Forces—the loss of the sea trade, played a crucial role, as has been mentioned earlier.

Value and Achievements

(i) *Science and Technology*: *Phase I* (700 B.C.-300 B.C.). Along with increased trade came the need for coins. The use of punch-marked silver coins began from this period. The coins were minted by sovereigns. Thus, the Mauryas had their famous crescent on arch/arches. A script came into use, as the literature of the period indicates. Jivaka, the famous physician of Magadha, lived in Buddha's time. The fine ware known as the Northern Black Polished Ware (NBP), with its brilliant burnished dressing, now makes its appearance. It is a luxury ware for dishes and small bowls. It is found mainly in the Gangetic Valley but traders and Buddhist *bhikshus* (monks) carried it all over North-West India, Afghanistan, the Deccan, Gujarat, Central India and Bengal.

There is nothing specific to note in Phase II (300-200 B.C.)

Phase III. Charaka (1st-2nd century A.D.) lived in the Court of the Buddhist King Kanishka, at Purushapura (Peshawar, formerly Pushkaravati—The City of Lotus Ponds, with its Indusian connotation). His *samhita* is still used in India, and the rules of behaviour prescribed by him are very similar to those laid down by Hippocrates.[3]

The zero sign, the counterpart of the Buddhist doctrine of *shunyata* or void, of this period, may well have owed

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

more to the Theo-Mercantile Buddhists than to the Theo-Aristocratic Hindus. Its original affiliations (e.g. Bakshali manuscript) were with the North West and West, permeated with strong Buddhist influence.

Phase IV. Many encyclopaedias on medicine were compiled. The Buddhist monks were medical missionaries. Nagarjuna the chemist (9th century A.D.), apparently a Buddhist from Gujarat[4] introduced mineral drugs into the *Ayurveda*. The compendia of Bhaisajya Guru, *Amrita Hridaya* (Heart of Ambrosia) and of Vagabhatta (6th-7th century A.D.) a Buddhist from Sindh[5]. *Ashtanga Samgraha* (Collection of the Octopartite Science) were translated into Tibetan/Mongolian.

Apparently the 'Theo' element, as in the Theo-Mercantile Arabo-Persian, stifled growth after some amount of development.

(*ii*) *Economics*: Thrust of the treatment—Like all Theo-Mercantile Societies the Indian Theo-Mercantile had—

—a sense of money.
—care for creating supporting craft organisations.
—ability to transport goods.
—a risk sense.
—more rationalism than the Theo-Aristocratic in land-arrangements.

Phase I (700 B.C. to 300 B.C.). About sixty towns are mentioned for this period starting from Champa in the east to Bhrigukaccha (Broach) in the West, and from Kapilavastu in the north to Kaveripattanam in the South.[6] Thus, the Theo-Mercantile was extensive. The merchants traded textiles for the surplus grain of villages.[7] But the cross-country trade was mainly in luxury goods—spices, sandalwood, gold, gems, silks, muslins, musk, saffron, yaks' tails. Metals were carried from one part of the country to another—iron from Magadha; copper from the Deccan, present-day Rajasthan, Western Himalayas; salt from the sea-coast and the Salt Range of the Punjab; sugar to dry regions; and rice to parts of the North-West.[8]

The merchants had a sense of money. The rates of usury were high[9]—a monthly rate of 15%; for normal

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

trade, 60%; for journeys through jungles 120%; for sea-voyage enterprises 240%. We hear of *setthis* possessing as much as eighty crores of wealth.[10] Saddalaputta owned 500 potters' workshops and fleet of boats which distributed his ware throughout the Ganges Valley.[11]

The *setthis* financed the *shrenis* or guilds, traditionally eighteen in number, in which industry and crafts were organised. The local king had some control over the guilds through the treasurer or *bhandagarika*. The *shrenis* had mobility. A whole village of carpenters, who fell out with a king, migrated to another part of the country.[12] Each guild was headed by an elder (*jetthaka*) and had its own laws and regulations. Four guilds, the wood-workers, smiths, leather-workers, and painters, appear to have been particularly prominent.

The *Uttarapatha* (Northern Way) started from Rajagriha, and went past Pataliputra, Vaishali and Kushinara to Kapilavastu; then it swung west to Shravasti; thence to Hastinapura, Takshashila and Pushkaravati. Thence the route went *via* the present day Afghanistan and Iran to Anatolian and East Mediterranean ports.

The *Dakshinapatha* (Southern Way) started from Shravasti, went across Ayodhya to Kaushambi; thence through Vidisha (modern Bhilsa) to Ujjaini and thence to Pratisthana ("Settlement", modern Paithan), on the Godavari. The river route led, along the Narmada, from Maheshwar, south of Ujjaini, to Bhrigukaccha (Broach), and thence overseas.

Sea navigation in Indian bottoms had begun by the time of the Buddha. The more venturesome traders went down the river Ganges to its mouth, and further along the coast. An early Jataka story (No. 339) tells of ships sailing from the port of Bhrigukaccha to a place called Baveru, possibly Babylon.

Most of the internal routes were dangerous to the merchant-caravans. Dense jungles, with wild tribes, abounded. Elsewhere there were robbers. Tigers, snakes, wild elephants were everywhere. So merchants clubbed together, about 500 or so, under the protection of professional caravan guards, whose leader, the *sarthavaha,* was an impor-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

tant person. Another figure of whom Pali literature speaks is the *thalaniyyamaka* (land-pilot), who guided caravans through deserts and waste places, steering by the stars.

Phase 2 (300-200 B.C.). Nothing particularly new.

Phase 3 (200-300 A.D.). Taking advantage of the seasonal winds the Indian mariners struck right across the open sea to South East Asia.[13] The Malacca straits were pirate-infested, the Sunda straits less dangerous. The Indian sailors and traders found it safer to use porterages south of the Kraa Isthmus to reach the "Golden Isles" of Java and Bali (*Suvarnabhumi*), those of Takuapa-Chaiya, Trang-Ligor, Kedah-Patani. South and East India were prominent in this trade. "The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea" (circa 80 A.D.), by an unknown author, gives elaborate information about *damirike* (Tamilaham) and the trade of West Asia with it.

The Romans imported spices, muslins, pearls, jewelstones. In return the Romans exported wine-amphorae and red-glazed Arretine ware, which have been discovered at Arikamedu, besides metals of various kinds and horses. The balance of trade was unfavourable to the Romans. Pliny's complaint about millions of sesterces pouring into India on account of the luxury trade is well-known. Sixty eight-hoards of Roman coins of the first century A.D. have been unearthed in the sub-continent, fifty south of the Vindhyas.[14]

Traditionally there had been eighteen guilds but the Buddhist *Mahavastu* now mentions eleven others.[15] And a work pertaining to the North West, the *Milanda-panha* ("Questions of Milinda" or Menander), seventy five.[16]

The day-to-day transactions were in silver and copper, indicating a penetration of money economy into the countryside. But, according to Manu (VII. 115-20), royal officers were not paid in cash, but by land grants. This shows that although money economy was powerful, it was still not powerful enough to oust a pre-money economy in the countryside, which was stronger still.[17]

Regarding land-arrangements the Kushanas introduced a piece of streamlining in the *akshaynivi* system, one of

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

"permanent settlement",[18] which the Guptas copied.

Phase IV. The loss of sea-trade led to a reversion to a land-lubber economy. This will be dealt with in a special section.

(iii) *Politics*: The Theo-Mercantile Buddhists produced a "social contract" theory of kingship.[19] Originally there was a golden age; then came cosmic decay, mankind became earth-bound and tied to material things; class (*varna*) distinctions arose, and private property and family. With this came theft, murder, adultery etc. So the people met and decided to appoint one of themselves to maintain order for a share (1/6th) of the produce of their fields and herds. He was called "the Great Chosen One" (*Mahasamànta*) and *raja,* which latter term was made out to have originated from *ranjayati* ("he pleases").

Equally "modern", and indicative of the cleavage between Consciousness VII (Theo-Aristocratic) and Consciousness VIII (Theo-Mercantile) is the story in *Digha Nikaya* 5. Here the Buddha narrates that a king, Mahajita, was advised by his fire-priest, or *purohita,* to abandon the Vedic *yajna,* and furnish instead seed to the peasants, capital to the trader, and suitable employment to those who would serve the state. This is not far removed in tone from our Indian Five year Plans.

It is not known whether such principles governed the rule of the Buddhist Kushan Kings of the North-West, for over 100 years from about 48 A.D. Our knowledge of them is mainly from coins and inscriptions and is scanty. The Persians (Sassanians) overwhelmed them. But liberal Buddhist principles governed Ashoka's multipurpose *Dhamma* policy, which can best be described under "Social Relations".

(iv) *Social Relations*: Phase I. The *shrenis,* or guilds, wielded not only economic power, but also social. Guild courts settled, for instance, quarrels between members and their wives. They had their own banners and insignia, as well as militias.

Phase II. It is in this phase that we have the *dhamma* policy of the Buddhist Emperor, Ashoka the Great (272-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

232 B.C.). The *Dhamma* is summarised in Rock Edicts IX (Mansohra) and XI (Kalsi) as "proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, restraint in one's dealings with living beings and liberality to the Sramanas and the Brahmans".

Ashoka was tolerant. He was the protector of all sects, which he classified under five heads—the Buddhist *Sangha* (Organisation), the Brahmans, the Ajivikas (the dissatisfied and disgruntled nihilists and materialists, who must thus have been large in numbers), the Nirgranthas (Jains) and "other sects". He planted trees on road-sides, dug wells, and opened hospitals. He enjoined that "forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy living beings."[21] (Pillar Edict No. 5). He appointed a class of officials, the *Dhamma Mahamattas,* to preach *Dhamma* and see that *Dhamma* was observed. In course of time the *Dhamma Mahamattas* began to interfere too much, gave offence and they faded away with the end of Maurya rule. But they had done their work. Vegetarianism, teetotalism, pacifism began to permeate the erstwhile hearty meat-eaters, drinkers and warlike people. Internal tensions did lessen, but did not stop. Internal tensions rise basically because of economic and political reasons. Hence, the solution has to be also mainly in the material plane, and mere ideological and intellectual, or even emotional appeals and approaches are not adequate enough.

(v) *Ideology*: *General.* The thrust of the treatment is that new faiths were adopted by the sorely troubled displaced Adivasis, independence-seeking merchants, artisans and others dissatisfied with the state of things, out of many floating around. Of these Buddhism had the greatest attracting power. It passed through the usual four phases —origin, growth, maturity, and closure of the tradition in a riot of scholasticism and mysticism.

Phase I (700-300 B.C.). During this period Upanishadic Idealism arose, a mixture of Vedic and Adivasi ideas, as we have seen in Chapter 15. But the slave, the helot, the ambitious merchant, the frustrated and the independent-minded people were not satisfied. They turned,

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

among others, to the *Lokayata* Materialistic schools, whose teachings have been lost (the references to them in Madhav Acharya's *Sarva Darshana Samgraha—Compendium of all Philosophies*—are few and uncomplimentary) ; and to certain Nihilistic philosophies. The *Lokayata* were remembered as the followers of Charvaka, impious, irreligious, impertinent hedonists, following the counsel :

Yavajjeevan sukham jeevet
Reenam Kritva ghritam pivet.
(Live all your life happily, borrow and drink *ghee*).

The Nihilists are represented by the slave prophet Purana Kassapa, the servant teacher Makkhali Gosala, the proletarian heretic Ajita Keshakambali, the frustrated sceptic Sanjay Belatthiputta, and the hump-backed commoner, Pakudha Kaccayana. The *Samana Phala Sutta* of the *Digha Nikaya* gives an account of their teachings. Professor A. L. Basham has reconstructed the Ajivika teachings of Makkhali Gosala in his *History and Doctrine of the Ajivikas* (London 1951). All the five philosophies have more or less the same views although the nuances vary, as D. P. Chattopadhyay has brought out in his *Lokayata* (Delhi 1959). Purana Kassapa, who committed suicide, believed in *ahetu vada* (irrationalism) and *akriya vada* (ineffectiveness of action). To Makkhali Gosala, a Vajjian, the destruction of the Vajjians by Magadha spelt the doom of everything. He is supposed to have died a raving lunatic. He believed that *Niyati* or Fate, is inexorable. Human effort is useless—*natthi purisakar*.[22] Some people still follow this Ajivika view, using the same terms, without probably realising their provenance.

We shall deal with Jainism, a religion and philosophy which developed in these times, later. Buddhism was the doctrine which was most successful among the Theo-Mercantilists. Siddhartha Gautama "Buddha" ("the Enlightened One") was a small tribe aristocrat (the Shakyas of Kapilavastu), in the 6th century B.C. His doctrines were in between Upanishadic Idealism on the one hand and Nihilistic Materialism and Jaina Asceticism on the other. Hence, knowingly, and for this reason Siddhattha Gotama

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(the Pali spelling) called his philosophy "The Middle Path". Proud of his Aryan ancestry and heritage he also called it "The Aryan Path". Buddha himself left nothing in writing. The Buddhist canon took shape over a period of centuries following Buddha's death, but about certain essential features of his teachings there are no doubts. The basic tenets, the Four Noble Truths, are as follows :—

(i) Life is full of suffering.

(ii) Suffering is caused by desire.

(iii) The elimination of desire only can lead to a cessation of suffering.

(iv) Desire can be eliminated only through the Eight Fold Path. One then reaches the stage of *Nibbana* (*Nirvana*)—Extinguishing (of desire).

Man is then released from Karma, the cycle of births and rebirths. (*Samyutta Nikaya* V 421-3).

(The Buddha, like the Jains took the *Karma* doctrine for granted).

The Eightfold Path consists, briefly, of :—

(i) Right View—knowledge of the Four Noble Truths.

(ii) Right Aim—non-resentment, harmlessness, renunciation.

(iii) Right speech—no lying, abusing, back-biting, idle talk, etc.

(iv) Right Action—non-violence, not taking what is not given, no wrong-doing in sexual passions.

(v) Right Living—giving up wrong living, livelihood by right living. For instance, giving up sale of liquor, and dealing in animals for butchery.

(vi) Right Effort—creation of good conditions.

(vii) Right Mindfulness—self-control, thoughtfulness towards others, etc.

(viii) Right Contemplation—calm contemplation in solitude (apparently *yogic*).

(*Digha Nikaya* 11.312).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

It will be seen that the teachings are wholly ethical. Indeed, the Buddha was against caste and rituals. His language was the plain *patois* of the local people—Magadhi, Pali or Ardha-Magadhi. The Buddha avoided questions of theology, eschatology and metaphysics. His religion was, therefore, largely a social one, open to all. In the Buddhist educational schools (monasteries) all were admitted, the syllabi were wide in range, and practical disciplines were also taught. Thus the Buddha stood for the equality of human beings, both in theory and practice, in great contrast with the Inequality Doctrine of the Rig Vedic *Purusha Shukta.* It was about five hundred and fifty years before the birth of Jessus Christ, in a tormented and war-and-passion-torn India.

Out of his compassionate feelings the Buddha Tathagata ("He who has arrived there") allowed popular cults, viz. of the tree, funerary tumuli etc. to be venerated by his alms-men-preachers. He himself visited many sacred spots or *chaityas,* associated with earth-spirits and genii, of trees etc. in the groves on the outskirts of villages. The proud Brahmans "officially" catered, in those days, to the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, leaving the others to find their own spiritual solace. But the Buddhist alms-man-preacher, in his simple yellow robe, eating only once a day, living austerely but not harshly, was a return to the Food-Gatherer's simple life. And the Shudras, largely collected out of simple, vegetarian, food-gathering tribes (the fiercer ones died or fled to the hills and forests) loved and respected the monks who represented to them the simple happiness of only a recently vanished age.

Converts came from all classes. The first two, at Bodh Gaya, were caravan leaders from the North-West, Tapussa and Bhalluka, possibly of Iranian origin. Brahmans like Sariputta (Sariputra) and Moggallana (Maudgalyana) joined the Buddhist order (*Sangha*) as monks. The Buddha also converted many fierce tribal peoples (*"yakshas"*). The *Sangha* followed the rules of procedure of Aryan tribal *sabhas* and *samitis.* The Brahmans, Sariputta and Moggallana, contributed, much to the organisation and early philosophy of the *Sangha* but the first

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Patriarch, Upali, was a barber by origin, thus emphasising the democratic nature of Buddhism. Anyone, except debt slaves, could be a monk, and an order of nuns was also instituted almost right from the beginning on the pleading of Buddha's favourite disciple, the liberal and pro-feminist Ananda. The ten basic rules for monks are given in the *Khuddaka Patha* as follows :—[23]

(i) Avoid the taking of life.
(ii) Avoid taking what is not given.
(iii) Avoid unchastity.
(iv) Avoid falsehood.
(v) Avoid fermented liquor, distilled liquor and intoxicants giving rise to sloth.
(vi) Avoid unseasonable (highly spiced) meals.
(vii) Avoid dancing, song, playing music, and seeing shows.
(viii) Avoid the use of flowers, scents, and unguents, and the wearing of ornaments and decorations.
(ix) Avoid the use of raised beds, and of wide beds.
(x) Avoid the accepting of gold and silver.

Laymen had to follow the first five injunctions. A true Buddhist layman had thus to be, in those hard-drinking days, almost a teetotaller. But meat eating was so prevalent then that the Compassionate One could not stop it. For monks he said :[24] "I allow you, monks, fish and meat that are quite pure in these three respects : if they have not been seen, heard or suspected (to have been killed in purpose for a monk)."

During this period two Councils met to regulate the Buddhist canon : one at Rajagriha shortly after Buddha's death ; and the other at Vaishali, after about a hundred years. At Vaishali there was a schism on points of monastic discipline, and two sections were formed, the *Sthaviravadins* (Pali *Theravadi* "Believers in the Teaching of the Elders") and the *Mahasanghikas* ("Members of the Great Community"). Soon doctrinal differences also developed.

Those were harsh, brutal times, as brought out in Chapter 15, and the Buddhist solution must have seemed

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

a practical way out for the terrible tensions which had developed in society. If a concept of Romila Thapar's (in the context of a later time, that of Ashoka)[25] is taken, and extended, Buddhism as preached by the Buddha was basically a "Doctrine of Social Harmony".

Phase II (300-200 B.C.). At the Third Buddhist Council held at Pataliputra *circa* 250 B.C., under the patronage of Ashoka, the orthodox school, the *Theravada,* expelled the other sects from the *Sangha,* and sections dealing with psychology and metaphysics, the *Kathavatthu* and the *Abhidhamma Pitaka,* were added to the Buddhist Canon. Here also it was decided to send missionaries to various parts of the sub-continent, a natural extension of which was the propagation of Buddhism in Ceylon and South East Asia. Ashoka *Piyadassi Devanampiya* ("Good-looking, the Beloved of the Gods") sent his son Mahinda and daughter, Sanghamitta, to Simhala (Ceylon). And Buddhist missionaries to Greek kings—Antiochos II Theos of Syria, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus. (Ashoka's grandmother was probably a Greek, Helen, the daughter of Seleukos Nikator, and hence his interest in Greeks—probably his good looks also came from that source).

Phase III (200 B.C.-300 A.D.). In this zenith period of Buddhist ideology a new sect arose, out of the ideas of the heretics, blended with those of undoubted Zoroastrian and Christian provenance, the *Mahayana* (Great Vehicle), which overshadowed the *Hinayana* (Lesser Vehicle) (the proponents of the older school continued to call it *Theravada*—The Way of the Elders). The orthodox school of the Pataliputra Council held that the constituents of phenomena (*dharma*) are all fleeting, one after another. The heretical *Sarvastivadins* ("They who say—all is") denied this and held that the constituents exist all the time in latent form. The *Sautranikas,* another group of heretics, believed that our knowledge of the outside world is not true, but only a feasible inference. Another group of heretics believed in the existence of souls, passing from life to life. All these heretics, including the *Mahasinghi-*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

kas, met in Kashmir under Kanishka's patronage in the 1st-2nd century A.D. and the *Sarvastivadin* doctrines were codified. There were Zoroastrian and Christian ideas in the air in Kanishka's kingdom. The Zoroastrians believed in Saoshyant, a Saviour, who at the end of the world will lead the forces of Goodness and Light against Evil and Darkness. This led to the idea of a Saviour Buddha, Maitreya, for the future. And if there is a Saviour Buddha in the future and if he has been latent all the time there must have been Buddhas-in-the Becoming or Bodhisattvas as well as various Buddhas other than Gotama and Maitreya. Bodhisattvas can be, as the *Jataka* ("Birth") stories have it, incarnated in men, even animals, but the higher Bodhisattvas must be divine beings in Heaven. Christianity inspired the idea of the Suffering Saviour, who, like Jesus Christ, takes upon himself the sins of mankind, so that all human beings may be redeemed. As the *Sikshasamuccaya* (*Vajradhvaja Sutra* 280-81) has it:— "I take upon myself the burden of all suffering. I am resolved to do so, I will endure it.....it is surely better that I alone should be in pain than that all these beings should fall into the state of woe....." This, along with the doctrine of latentness meant that all beings will ultimately attain *Nirvana* and become Buddhas.

In the beginning, held the Mahayana school, there was only the Body of Essence (*Dharmakaya*) pervading the entire universe. It is also the *Adi Buddha* (Primeval Buddha). Then we have the Body of Bliss (*Sambhoga-Kaya*), in the form of Bodhisattva *Amitabha* (Immeasurable Glory) or *Amitayus* (Immeasurable Age) who presides in heaven, *Sukhavati* ("Happy Land"), where the blessed are reborn in the buds of lotuses, which rise from a lovely lake before the Buddha's throne. The Created Body (*Nirmankaya*) is the one seen on the earth. Many other Bodhisattvas were imagined—the way was clear now. Thus, *Avalokiteshwara* (the Lord, who looks down), *Padmapani* (The Lotus Bearer), etc., great aids to myth-making, story-telling, art and iconography.

Another development was the *Madhyamika* ("Intermediate") School of Nagarjuna, 1st-2nd century A.D., inter-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

mediate between the "Realism" of the *Sarvastivadins* and the "idealism" of the (later) *Yogacharas*. By subtle arguments Nagarjuna taught that the cosmic flux was unreal as was the consciousness which was part of the flux. Thus neither *Samsara* nor *Nirvana* existed, everything being equally unreal. The One Thing which existed could have no predicate. Nagarjuna, therefore, called it *Shunyata* (Emptiness, Void). The world had a qualified practical reality and immeasurable bliss could be achieved here and now by those who perceived *Shunyata*. The doctrines of Nagarjuna were imbibed and preached, with different names, by the 8th century monist, Shankara, who was, therefore, vehemently accused by his contemporaries of being a crypto-Buddhist. (Chapter 15).

Thus Buddhism came to have its own epistemology, metaphysics, theology, eschatology, and later, myths. The *Tathagata* had strongly disapproved of all this. But the mythology-rich, speculation-rich, emotional, compassionate, democratic creed gradually edged out the *Theravada* from India till, in the 7th century A.D., Hsuan Tsang found it almost extinct.

Mahayana Buddhism was introduced in China in 65 A.D. Kashyapa Matanga and Dharmaranya founded the *Pai Ma Ssu* (White Horse Monastery) outside Loyang and the concepts of Amida Buddha (Amitabha) and the "Western Heaven" soon became popular in Theo-Mercantile China. In all the oases along the trans-Central-Asian routes Buddhist monks were heard by the merchants, and Buddhist monasteries were established—at Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar, Tashkent, Turfan, Miran, Kuchi, Qarashahr and Tun-huang, leading in T'ang times and later to the magnificent Buddhist cave art of Tun-huang and Maichisan. In the 4th century A.D. Fa Hsien came to India as a pilgrim and to take Buddhist lore to China. South East Asia, however, got its Buddhism from Ceylon and South India (Amaravati, 3rd century A.D.) in the *theravada* form, and it is this which exists there to this day.

Phase IV. (300-800 A.D.). Now we have Logomachy, represented by the *Yogachara,* and mysticism or Second Religiousness in *Vajrayana.*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

According to the *Yogachara* (Way of Union) or *Vijnanavada* (Upholders of Science) school, the world is a dream, built by Consciousness. The only reality is suchness (Tathata) or *Dharmadhatu* (Raw Material of Phenomena), equivalent to Nagarjuna's *Shunyata* (Void). The chief exponents of this extremely subtle, hair-splitting, logomachic school were Asanga, a Peshawar monk (4th-5th century), his brother Vasubandhu, and the logicians Dignaga and Dharmakirti.

In the mystic *Vajrayana* school the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were endowed with "force" or "potency", *shaktis*, thought of as female. This was due, as in the case of Pauranic Hinduism, to the admission into Buddhism of primitive cults. Sexual symbolism and sexual intercourse then became part of religious rites in the next stage. The grace of the Bodhisattvas could be obtained by acquiring magical power, *vajra* (thunderbolt or diamond). Hence the name, *Vajrayana*—the Vehicle of the Thunderbolt. It was thought that the female *shaktis* or *Taras* (Savioures-ses) were the best mediators to obtain this magic power and grace, and along with them subsidiary female powers grew up—*matanginis* (outcaste women), *pishachis* (demonesses), *yoginis* (sorceresses), *dakinis* (she-ghouls) etc. These were depicted as many armed, in ferocious poses. They were undoubtedly inspired by priestesses of submerged fertility cults, now coming to the surface. It was thought that the deities could be compelled to do things if one knew the way or means (*sadhana*). The ways of *sadhana* were laid down in the *tantras*, and these often consisted of pronouncing the right formulae (*mantras*) in the correct manner, or of drawing the correct magical symbol (*yantra*). One of such *mantras* is *Om Mani padme hum*—"the jewel is in the lotus", a mystical pronouncement of the divine coitus of the heavenly Buddha and Prajna-paramita (Personification of Insight) and of Avalokiteshwara and his Tara. *Tantric* rites, following such theories, allowed ritual copulation, accompanied by much meat-eating and alcohol-drinking.

The *Vajrayana* appeared in Bihar and spread to Bengal ;

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

and to Tibet, in the 11th century, from the great Vajrayana monastery of Vikramshila in Bihar.

Kumarajiva, the son of an Indian and a Kuchi (Central Asian) princess, spread Buddhism in Central Asia in the 4th century A.D. Afghanistan was then Buddhist, as the great cultural and art centre of Bamiyan shows.

(vi) *Culture*: Phase I (700-300 B.C.). The intellectual, Buddhist milieu gave birth to Indian logic. Gotama or Akshapada, the expounder of the *Nyaya-Sutras* ("Threads of Analyses") is supposed to have lived in Mithila round about the sixth century B.C., although the texts named after him were not probably actually put in their present form till much later.[26]

This period saw the beginnings of Pali literature, largely secular, and of the austere *stupas*. The Pali *Jatakas* deal with Buddha's previous births in many lives, including animals, birds etc. We get a good deal of social information from the *Jatakas*. The *Thera-theri-gatha* ("Songs of the Elder Monks and Nuns") is well-known.

No *stupa* of this period has survived. The original *stupas* (tumuli) were supposed to have been built over the divided ashes of the Buddha, by various recipients. As the simple folk had tumuli of respected people in their *chaityas* or sacred places, *stupas* began to be erected there also. The core of the *stupa* was of unburnt brick, and the outer face of burnt brick, covered by a thin layer of plaster. The *stupa*, a large hemispherical dome, was crowned by an umbrella of wood or stone, and was surrounded by a wooden fence enclosing a path for the ceremonial clockwise circumambulation (*pradakshina*), which was the chief form of reverence paid to the holy relics inside.

Phase II (300-200 B.C.). The *stupa* developed, and the first structure of the Abhayagiri *stupa* in Ceylon may be dated from this period. The Bharhut and Sanchi *stupas* date from the 2nd century B.C., and the Amaravati *stupa* (lower Krishna valley), slightly later. The *stupas* now have circular railings and four glorious gateways (*toranas*). The railings are unadorned but the sculptures on the gateways have warmed all hearts. Says the kindly and sym-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

pathetic A. L. Basham[27]: "From top to bottom and on all sides the massive square uprights and triple architraves are alive with the life of the times. Yaksis smile as they lean in easy graceful poses, or serve as brackets to the architraves which are supported by massive elephants or cheerfully grinning dwarfs. The flat surfaces of the uprights and the architraves are covered with panels depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha or from Jataka stories. Cities are besieged, riders on elephants and horses pass in procession, men and women worship sacred shrines, elephants roam the jungles; lions, peacocks, yaksis, nagas, mythical animals and ornate floral designs fill the whole."

In the Sanchi, and other *stupas,* we meet with the *tribhanga* ("triple-bend") feminine pose, one of the most graceful conceived by the artists of any civilisation. Here one leg is bent, and the body is slightly turned at the hips, an exquisite pose appreciated everywhere. Says A. L. Basham: "It contrasts sharply with the rather rigid poses of most ancient art other than that of the Greeks, and gives an impression of life and vitality."[28] M. Philippe Stern speaks of its combining suppleness with balance.[29] And not only males, but females have also found the pose enchanting. Both Stella Kramrisch in her *The Art of India through the Ages* (Phaidon, 1954) and Romila Thapar in her *A History of India* (Penguin, 1966) have chosen a tree nymph (*Vrikshaka*) in the *tri-bhanga* pose for the front cover of their books.

Cave temples arose during this period—the Barabar Hills (near Gaya), belonging to the Ajivikas, the Nagarjuni hills nearby etc. The caves are unadorned but the inner walls are finely polished.

Phase III (200 B.C.-300 A.D.). Mahayana Buddhist literature is in Sanskrit, which may not have been much different from the spoken language of the North-West. Most of the works are religious, but some are non-religious. A few are brifly noticed below.

Buddha-Charita of Asvaghosha (1st century A.D.)	Life of Buddha in fairly simple classical style, found in the desert sands of Central Asia.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Lalita-vistara	Flowery account of the life of the Buddha, much used by Sir Edwin Arnold for his *The Light of Asia.*
Sukha-vati-vyuha	The glories of Amitabha and his paradise. Translated into Chinese, in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., it had much effect there.
Jataka-Mala of Arya-surya	Stories of Buddha in his previous births.
Divya-vadana	An attractive collection of legendary and semi-historical lore.
Milinda-panha (Questions of Menander) by Nagasena 1st century A. D. (Pali)	Catechismal discussions on Buddhism between the Indo-Greek King Menander and the monk Nagasena, great dialectical and literary skill.
Manimegalai of Sattan of Madurai, early centuries of the Christian era.	Formal philosophic poem. Manimegalai, rejects romance, becomes a Buddhist nun, and vanquishes, in discussions, members of other sects as well as Hindus.

In this period the *stupa* became bigger and more elaborate—for instance the Abhaygiri Dagaba at Anuradhapura, Amaravati, Sarnath, Nalanda and Ruwanaveliseya stupas, the last at Anuradhapura, built by Dutthagamani (161-137 B.C.) (the original one). We have rock cut caves at Bhaja near Poona, at Karli and at Ajanta (2nd century B.C. to 7th century A.D.). Ajanta was on the trade route from the North to the Deccan. There were 27 caves. There were many schools of sculpture in Mathura, Gandhara (Lower Kabul and Upper Indus Valleys), Amaravati, Karli etc. The Gandhara school figures were partly model-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

led on the gods of the Graeco-Roman world, the area having being under Indo-Greek kings. The slender, long-legged figures of the Amaravati school had great influence in Ceylon and South East Asia.

The Buddha image now appears for the first time. It may have originated either in Gandhara or Mathura. Since Greeks had been making images for a long time and Aryan-Indian worship had been aniconic, a Gandhara origin seems more likely.

The *tri-bhanga* at Sanchi was a natural pose. At Mathura it is provocative, exaggerated, with purpose to attract. At Amaravati, it is still provocative but sophisticated.

The brilliant paintings in the Ajanta caves, composed by the dry fresco technique, are well-known. The scenes blend into each other, and an illusion of depth is created by placing the background figures somewhat above those in the foreground. The paintings look as if taken by a telescopic camera, and the figures seem as if coming to meet the observer. The paintings are both religious and secular—princes, high-born ladies, coolies, beggars, peasants, ascetics, the birds and beasts and flowers of India. These caves, as D. D. Kosambi has pointed out, were not only religious places, but also rest houses for wealthy patrons, merchants, *vanijya-karas* (later, when fallen on evil days, *banjaras*), who loved to see life as they knew it.

Phase IV (300-800 A.D.). The Ajanta caves and cave paintings continued to the 8th century A.D., supplemented by those of Ellora, about 30 miles away. The Ellora caves and paintings are mostly Hindu, but some are Buddhist and Jain. Among the masterpieces of Ajanta paintings is the Bodhisattva, Avalokiteshwara Padmapani, with a jewelled crown and a white lotus in his hand. Other Buddhist paintings, full of life, are to be seen in the caves of Bagh and Badami. Among the best are those in Sigiriya in Ceylon, the "Lion Mountain", rising sharply 600 feet above the surrounding plain, the eyrie of the parricide king Kashyapa I, 5th century A.D. The heavenly damsels, or *apsarases*, of Sigiriya are rightly famous all over the world.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

The sandstone Gupta Buddha, of Sarnath and of Mathura, is serene, transcending all the sorrows of the world. The Samadhi Buddha of Anuradhapura in Ceylon (4th century A.D.) is their peer in its sense of tranquillity. The giganticism of the fourth phase is represented by the colossal lying statue of Buddha built at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon in the 12th century A.D. by Parakramabahu I, who has a giant statue to himself also. The Isurumuniya lovers, near Anuradhapura, epitomise the height of elegance.

Bengal under the Buddhist Palas (8th-12th centuries A.D.) produced many fine icons, many in the local black basalt, with fine finish, the polish being such that the objects often seem to be made of metal rather than of stone. An exquisite example is that of the Buddhist snake-goddess, transmuted from the local snake-goddess, Manasa.

Some of the bronzes, like the Sultanganj Buddha, convey the same vitality, the same delicacy of features, and the same sense of compassion as do the sculptures. The Pala bronzes were numerous, apparently mass produced, and exported to South-East Asia, Nepal and Tibet. They are characterised by delicacy of design and ornamental detail, but not so much by deep religious feeling.

General Conclusion: It can well be said that Buddhist-Indian "Culture" is cosmopolitan, full of aestheticism and with that element of secularism expected from a Theo-Mercantile Society.

The Absorption of Buddhism by Hinduism—its Disappearance as such from India

Several of the reasons given for the decline of Buddhism in India will not hold water. One is that of Muslim aggression, but long before Islam, in the 7th century A.D., Hsuan Tsang found old centres of Buddhist pilgrimage deserted, monasteries in ruins, and Brahmanical (*deva*) temples flourishing. True, the Muslims destroyed the monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramshila and Odantapuri, but this does not take away anything substantial from the argument that it had already more or less declined com-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

pletely in spirit, only the shell remaining. The Buddhist *sangha* developed laxities with opulence, but the Hindu *mathas* were no better. The sexual fertility rites which oozed up from the submerged layers of society, and were represented by the Tantras, were common to specific brands of both Buddhism and Hinduism alike, and so could not be a cause of the decline of Buddhism. There had been very little of persecution of Buddhists—Pushyamitra Shunga (B.C. 185-149), Mihiragula (5th century A.D.), Shashanka (7th century A.D.) were isolated instances. Hence, religious persecution is not a reason. Generally, Buddhists and Hindus lived peacefully side by side, as they did in South-East Asia, and still do in Ceylon and Nepal.

The main reasons for the disappearance of Buddhism were :—

(i) With the "mercantile" element in the Theo-Mercantile dwindling, the 'theo' side became strong ; landlords were in the ascendant, and former international businessmen turned money-lending *sheths,* and became integrated into the Theo-Aristocratic system. Buddhist values—non-eating of beef, even vegetarianism, pacifism, mild and abstemious living, were taken over wholesale by Hinduism. The Buddha became one of the ten *avataras* in the Vaishnava sect. In the *Sad-dharma-pundarika* (The Lotus of the Good Law) Avalokiteshwara is said to assume the form of Brahma, Maheshwara, Vishnu etc. Under the Palas of Bengal the cult of Shiva-Buddha typified this merging of Buddhist and Hindu values.

(ii) The ordinary Buddhists became leaderless. Their monks in the *sanghas* had become costly parasites, like Hindu priests of *maths,* but without the richness and imagery of Hindu mythology and the convincing ceremonies provided by the Hindu priests not only at the most important moments of life-birth, marriage, death, but also in day-to-day agricultural and other operations, largely with the help of astrology. Such services had never, at any time, been rendered by the Buddhist monks, although they had provided medical care.

(iii) The sincere Buddhist monks migrated to South

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

East Asia, from Kanchi from the 5th century A.D., from East India from Pala times. This further exacerbated the leaderlessness of the Buddhists.

(iv) Reversion to Theo-Aristocracy also meant withdrawal of state subscriptions. The Buddhist monks had come to rely on this and on contributions from rich Buddhist merchant donors. Now with all this gone, expansion in activities of the Faith was out of the question. On the other hand, Hinduism, relying for its strength mainly on independent Brahmans and ascetics and on domestic ceremonies, could not only continue to exist under practically all circumstances, but indeed, even flourish and grow stronger.

Thus, the faith of the Tathagata, along with Zarathustra, Jesus Christ and Muhammad, one of the four greatest sons of Asia, the beacon light of hope and solace for untold suffering millions, flickered in its native land, and died out.

Significant Legacies

(i) *Injunctions against cow-slaughter.* From archaeology and literary sources it is clear that the early Indians were beef-eaters and this was so in Buddha's time also.[30] (The matter will be further discussed in Chapter 35). There is a famous passage in the *Shatapatha Brahmana* (3.1.2.21) where it is suggested that beef-eating may be a sin, but Yajnavalkya bluntly declares: "That may very well be, but I shall eat of it nevertheless if the flesh be tender." The enormous expansion in agriculture made it necessary to protect cattle, as the ox was the animal drawing the plough. Hence beef-eating, as well as the sacrifice of the oxen in the *yajna,* had to be prohibited, and the Buddhists, as the democratic opposition to the elite, took it up first, as an ideological or religious injunction. It was stated (e.g. *Sutta Nipata* 296-97) that cattle constitute the source of grain, strength, beauty and happiness, and hence they should not be slaughtered. As against this the Theo-Aristocratic elite only laid down a difficult penance for slaying a milch-cow or a drought ox

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(cf. *Baudhayana Dharma Sutra* 1.104). Thus, the inspiration behind the ultimate ban on cow-slaughter was Buddhist.

(ii) *Teetotalism*: Buddhist also was temperance, if not the absolute ban on intoxicants, as the fifth injunction to monks and laymen shows. Sanskrit literature is full of descriptions of taverns and the *Arthashastra* gives cryptic recipes of many alcoholic drinks. Om Prakash, in his *Food and Drinks in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1961) lists 48 kinds of alcoholic drinks which delighted the Aryo-Indians. The law-books disapproved of drinking, but as Professor A. L. Basham says "drinking and drunkenness are so frequently mentioned, in literature, especially in that of the Tamils, that it is clear that religious precept was not regularly followed in this particular."[31] Hence the creation of opinion against drinking—a reaction of the commonalty against the heavy drinking habits of the rulers, as in the case of Islam in Arabia when the restriction was introduced there—must be attributed to the Buddhists. The Jains, belonging to the same category, had the same ethos, and the only instance of prohibition which we have in India is that of Kumarapala, the Jain king of Gujarat, in the 12th century.

(iii) *Vegetarianism*: We have seen that the Compassionate One allowed his disciples to eat meat provided animals were not specifically slaughtered for them. The systematic propagation of vegetarianism begins with Ashoka, backed by all the resources of imperial power, among a largely meat-eating people (as archaeology and literature testify—there is a treatment of this in Chapter 35). Said the Beloved of the Gods in the Fifth Pillar Edict:[32]

"Twenty-six years after my coronation, I have declared the following species of animals exempt from slaughter viz. parrots, mainas, ruddy geese, wild geese, *nandimukhas, gelatas,* bats, queen-ants, terrapins, boneless fish, *vedaveyakas, gangapuputakas,* skate fish, tortoises and porcupines, leaf-hares, twelve-antler stags, bulls set at liberty, household vermin, rhinoceroses, white pigeons and all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

edible"....." "Those she-goats, ewes and sows, which are either pregnant or milch, are not to be slaughtered, nor their young ones which are less than six months old. Cocks are not to be caponed..... The living must not be fed with the living."

Ashoka set an example in the royal kitchen itself. Says he in his Rock Edict I—"Where many hundred thousands of living beings were formerly being slaughtered every-day" he limited himself to two peacocks and a deer a day, and promised even a cessation of these in the future.

Incidentally, the list of animals exempted from slaughter, given earlier (from the 5th Pillar Edict), shows how varied and wide-ranging was the non-vegetarian menu of the ancient Indian—a fact confirmed by Om Prakash's book cited above. But for such restrictions as imposed by Buddhist doctrine India may well have been bereft of all animals long ago!

(iv) *Shankara's borrowings from the Mahayana Buddhists*: Nagarjuna, the Madhyamika philosopher, lived about 600 years before Shankara (788-820). In Shankara's time Buddhist concepts were still very much in the air. Nagarjuna had taught that the cosmic flux was unreal as was the consciousness which was part of the flux. But the world has a qualified practical reality. The only Reality is without a predicate, and therefore Nagarjuna called it *Shunyata* (Void). Shankara borrowed the theory of two planes of cognition—the real and the practical. This enabled him to stress that the world of the senses is not ultimately real, but *Maya,* Cosmic Illusion. Both Nagarjuna and Shankara drew upon the Upanishadic *Brahman* or World Soul idea, but Shankara's approach in the matter was not different from Nagarjuna's—both being intellectual rather than emotional-intuitive.

(v) *Conclusions*: Thus matters of crucial importance to Late Hindu ideology—banning of cow slaughter, teetotalism, vegetarianism, the concept of the world as *Maya* or Cosmic Illusion, owe their inspiration to the Buddhists. Late Hinduism here devoured the ideas and concepts of the Buddhists and so led to the supposed disappearance

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

of Buddhism. Shankara's enemies called him a crypto-Buddhist. Much of Late Hindu ideology and practice also is crypto-Buddhist.

Jainism

One of the philosophies which appealed in the troublous 6th century B.C. and thereafter was that of asceticism and quietism of Mahavira, a Licchavi Kshatriya, the Jain ("Victorious One") teacher, reputedly one in a long line of such teachers. Jaina doctrine is austere. The universe functions according to an eternal law and is continually passing through a series of cosmic waves of progress and decline. Everything in the universe, material or otherwise, has a soul. And the purpose of living is to purify the soul by leading a balanced life. The chief element in such a harmonious life, according to Mahavira, is non-violence. Even the unconscious killing of an ant while walking is sin. A natural corollary of such doctrines is vegetarianism. The Jains were against Vedic *yajnas*, seeing their irrelevance to Jaina doctrines, and this appealed to businessmen, ground down by taxes for the *yajnas*, while the Kshatriyas and Brahmans went scot free. Jaina simplicity and frugality also appealed to these early capitalists, as did the anti-establishment doctrine of *ahimsa*, or non-violence. Hence, Jainism spread among the mercantile community of North and West India.

The Buddhists and Jains went to South India also and made converts among the Merchants. The Buddhists were earlier in the field and received royal support, but the Jainas were more persistent.[33] Buddhist and Jain influence is prominent in literature. The authors of *Manimekalai, Virasholiam* and *Kundalakeshi* were Buddhists, while those of *Jivaka Chintamani, Nilakesi, Chulamani* etc. were Jains.[34] Bhadrabahu began the Jaina settlement at Sravana Belgola, and Chandragupta Maurya is stated to have fasted himself to death in South India after the Jaina fashion. There were Jains at Kanchipuram and Puhar (at the mouth of the Kaveri), and the expression *Kottam*, for a settlement, is associated with Jains.[35] The Jain strongholds in the South were near Madurai and

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Kanchi and in Shravana Belgola, but the majority of Jaina monks lived in small caves in hills and forests, like the beautiful ones at Sittannavasal in Pudukkottai, full of elegant murals. The Buddhists and Jains of the South were converted to liberal Hinduism in its Bhakti form in the 10th-11th centuries A. D. by the Nayanars and the Alwars.

In North India, Rajasthan and Gujarat, Jainism, as Romila Thapar says[36] "maintained itself as a 'parish religion', with more determination than Buddhism and hence the number of its adherents has remained fairly constant", though comparatively small.

Comparison of the Basic Attitudes of the Pauranic-Hindu (Late Hindu) Theo-Aristocratic, the Buddhist Theo-Mercantile and the Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile

I. *Science and Technology*

(*i*) *Thinking*/(*ii*) *Teachers*

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Intuition is more important than reasoning. Knowledge is gift of the gods and goddesses. The teacher is a deity—*acharya devo bhavah.*

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: Reason is important. Buddha himself said to his favourite disciple, Ananda, on his death-bed "be ye a light unto yourselves, O Ananda." Right to the end, even when the 'theo' element became very strong the teacher—*Mahasthavira, Bhadanta* or whatever he was—remained a respected guide and never became anything like a Bodhisattva.

(c) *Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile*: Reason is important. The Mutazilites even questioned the eternal character of the Koran. Teachers were respected guides, not gods, not even the Sufi *sheikhs,* for Islam has no divine being but Allah. One went to a teacher and came out if he was not satisfied, as Omar Khayyam did, for instance, as brought out vividly in the popular English rescension of Fitz-Gerald.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

2. *Economics*

(*iii*) *Working*

(a) *Pauranic-Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Soft and Easy Life for the elite, hard work for the Shudras.

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: A *vaishya* supported religion. The *vaishyas* or merchants believed in thrift and in capital accumulation, as is well brought out in the *Jataka* stories. The last words of the Buddha himself—although this was in the spiritual context, but it indicates the ethos—were "strive diligently".

(c) *Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile*: The work ethic was strong. Many new towns were founded, the whole of West Asia was humming with activity of all kinds under Theo-Mercantile rule, the rulers themselves being keen patrons of both intellectual endeavour and enterprise of every nature (e. g. Al-Mamun, Harun-al-Rashid etc.).

3. *Family and Society*

(*iv*) *Relations with Fellow Men*

(*v*) *Hierarchy sense* (*vi*) *Relations between Man and Woman*

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic Homo Hierarchicus*: The *varna-jati* division of society. Woman held to be very much inferior to man—as exemplified by Manu's tirades.

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: Strong equality sense, no caste in Buddhism. The first Patriarch of the Buddhist *Sangha* was a barber, Upali. Buddha mixed equally with all—King Bimbisara, rich merchant Anatha-pindaka, courtesan Ambapali, smith Chanda—at whose house he died. Equality to Buddhist nuns and lay women.

(c) *Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile*: All the same before Allah. All worship together, without distinction, at the congregational prayers, all part of the same *umma*. No distinction between Muslim and Muslim from Abbasid times. All through the Theo-Mercantile stage women were influential, e. g. wives of al-Saffah, the founder of the Abbasid dynasty, Zubaydah, Harun-al-Rashid's queen etc.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

4. *Politics/Administration/Military Affairs*

(*vii*) *Duty Sense* (*viii*) *Fighting spirit*

(*ix*) *In-group/out-group feeling* (*x*) *Justice*

(a) *Pauranic-Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Duty is mainly to the caste group. Fighting is a *dharma* only for the Kshatriyas. Other believe in pacifism (a heritage of Stage I—Food-Gatherers and Stage III—Matrifocal Agriculturists) and in substitute non-violent psychological pressures instead of direct force. Hence, greater use of guile and duplicity. Sense of justice only within the *jati*.

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: Sense of duty to the Buddhist *sangha* and community firstly, but the whole of humanity is covered by the *dhamma*. So, a sense of duty to the world also. Belief in non-violence. Sense of justice for all as falsehood has to be avoided. Doctrines of Social Contract as the origin of the state, social welfare for all.

(c) *Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile*: From Abbasid period no distinction between Muslim and Muslim permitted. So duty sense was to the Muslim community as a whole—the *umma*. Original fighting spirit gave way to peaceful, trading spirit. Turkish soldiers and mercenaries were recruited from Abbasid times. Keen interest in jurisprudence. Muslims and the People of the Book treated alike in matters of justice. Liberal rulers like al-Hajjaj ordained similar treatment for the *dhimmis* (non-Muslims) of India.

5. *Ideology*

(*xi*) *Epistemology* (*xii*) *Metaphysics*

(*xiii*) *Theology/Eschatology* (*xiv*) *Ethics*

(*xi*) *Epistemology*

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Knowledge revealed by gods and goddesses, as grace, not won, as of right, by logic.

(b) *Theo-Mercantile Buddhist*: Revelation tempered by logic. Everything required logical explanation, from Early Buddhism to the subtle logomachy of Asanga, Vasubandhu etc. of the *Vijnan-vada School* at the end of the Buddhist formulations.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(c) *Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile*: Constant effort to synthesise the revelation of the Koran with logic, specially after the Greek pattern (e. g. Al-Kindi). Right to the end belief in logic. Al-Ghazzali said it could be used for private discussions although in public one believed without reasoning—*bila qayf*.

(*xii*) *Metaphysics*:

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Rich in metaphysics. Basis of metaphysics revelation and intuition.

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: Early Buddhists and the Himayana school frowned on too much speculation. Mahayana was rich in speculations but these had to conform to logic on laid-down premises.

(c) *Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile*: The orthodox *sunnis* frowned on speculation. *Sufis*, Ismailis etc. had rich metaphysics but these had to conform to logic, on assumptions laid down beforehand for the purpose.

(*xiii*) *Theology/Eschatology*:

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Many gods and goddesses exist. The world is *leela* or sport of the deities. Eternal cycle of births and deaths because of *Karma*. *Mukti* or Salvation, of the Good Man, by following the *dharma-shastras*, is going to Vaikuntha or Kailasha to enjoy a life of bliss.

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: Buddha and early Buddhists impatient of theology. Belief in *Karma*, and the obtaining of *Nirvana* through one's efforts, following the tenets of Buddhism. The Mahayana wove metaphysics around this and held that because of the sufferings of the Bodhisattvas and other Buddhas everyone could ultimately become a Buddha.

(c) *Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile*: Allah is the only Divine Being. Allah's will is inscrutable and one must submit to it. Delightful Heaven for good Muslims, terrible Hell for others. The Sufis interposed love between Allah and man. Ibn-Arabi said that all paths lead to God.

(*xiv*) *Ethics*:

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Prescribed in the *dharma shastras*.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: The Four Noble Truths, the Eight-fold Path, the Ten Injunctions. Code ethical comparatively simple ritual.

(c) *Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile*: Prescribed in the *sharia*. But emphasis on humanism during the Theo-Mercantile phase, tolerance instead of fanaticism, as the treatment in the early portion of Chapter 17 shows.

6. *Culture*

(*xv*) *Gregariousness* (*xvi*) *Eating and Drinking*

(*xvii*) *Attitude to the fine arts, literature, etc.*

(*xviii*) *Attitude to the past*

(*xv*) *Gregariousness*

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Restricted to the *jati*.

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: No restrictions on mixing. Buddhists mix with all.

(c) *Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile*: Gregarious and convivial—with *umma*, the People of the Book, and people Islamised in culture.

(*xvi*) *Eating and Drinking*:

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Full of taboos, going back to Stage I of Civilisation (Food Gatherers).

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: Everything allowed in eating in practice although the preference is for vegetarianism. As regards drinking, Buddha himself held it to be only one of the minor vices.[37]

(c) *Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile*: Apart from pig (regarded as unclean) no food taboos laid down. In the Theo-Mercantile phase—Umayyad and Abbasid days, liberal construction of injunctions about drinking.

(*xviii*) *Attitude to the fine arts, literature etc.*

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Suffused with religiosity. Preference for parochial themes. Monumental architecture largely palaces and places of worship. Art and music aristocratic (leaving out folk art and folk music).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: Religiosity, but non-religious element also e.g. in *Jataka* tales, *torana* sculptures, Ajanta paintings etc.

(c) *Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile*: Religiosity, but in the Umayyad and Abbasid phase much non-religious art e.g. in pleasure-house of Hisham at Khirbat-al-Mafjar near Jericho, in the palace of Al-Mutasim near Samarra etc. The *Arabian Nights* atmosphere.

(*xviii*) *Attitude to the Past*:

(a) *Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic*: Reverential, conservative.

(b) *Buddhist Theo-Mercantile*: History-sense exists—Buddha story e.g. of Ashvaghosha etc./the *Divyavadana*/ the *Jataka* stories/Sinhalese chronicles like the *Mahavamsa*, the *Chullavamsa etc.*

(c) *Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile*: Keen sense of history, many historians. Catholicity and intellectual curiosity in Al-Masudi, generalising and philosophic in Ibn-Khaldun.

7. *General Conclusions*

It is thus seen that the Indian Buddhist Theo-Mercantile and the Arabo-Persian Muslim Theo-Mercantile are more like each other than is the Indian Buddhist Theo-Mercantile to the Indian Hindu Theo-Aristocratic.

This is another proof that the Stage of Civilization, with all its interlinked basic attitudes, values and institutions cuts across national barriers.

This Stage of Civilization is a function of economics and similar economics breed similar basic attitudes, values and achievements. Hence, because of the similarity between their outlook Buddhists (concentrated in the North West and East Bengal) became Muslims, rather than Hindus, when they were left leaderless.

The substratum of liberal Buddhist influence was probably a factor why Bengal reacted more positively to the British, culturally in the nineteenth century, than did the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras where Buddhism had not been so widespread.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Values and Institutions of the Buddhist Theo-Mercantile Nearer, because of their Intellectual Element, to Scientific-Democratic Man than those of Theo-Aristocratic Societies

In Chapter 17 the main differences between Theo-Aristocratic and Theo-Mercantile societies have been briefly stated. Functionwise, these are as follows—

1.	Science and Technology	More development.
2.	Economics	More trade.
3.	Family and Society	Less of caste and class, less inequality for women.
4.	Politics/administration/military affairs	Some rationalisation, its extent depending on the strength of the various classes.
5.	Ideology	Simpler or more intellectual or new religion.
6.	"Culture"	Cosmopolitanism, secularism, aestheticism.

We see all this in the Buddhist Theo-Mercantile. Hence, in spite of its greater antiquity compared to much of the Theo-Aristocratic culture of India (i.e. after the 9th century A.D.) it is acceptable, almost without reservation, to Scientific-Democratic people. The opinion of a few representative British novelists and other writers, who wrote about India, are cited below in support of this statement. Kipling admired Buddhism and his lama in "Kim" has been stated by G. T. Garratt to be the only Indian character who is 'in the round' rather than 'in the flat'.[38] Alice Perrin refers to the Buddha as 'the greatest reformer, save One, that the world has ever known'. (*Idolatry,* London 1909, p. 101). Maud Diver refers to the Buddhist Middle Path as the only way of truth. (*The Great Amulet,* London 1914, p. 16). Leonard Woolf says that 'Buddhism seems to me superior to all other religions'. (*Growing*, London 1961, p. 159). E. J. Thompson's Alden muses—'India.....made the mistake of millenniums and shack-

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

led and ravaged herself for all future times, when she rejected the Buddha and chose the other way!' (*An End of the Hours,* London 1938, pp. 232-33).

There can be no doubt that Alden is right but Configurational Dynamics decreed that it could not have been otherwise.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

REFERENCES

Chapter 1

1. Thomas Watters—*On Ywan Chwang's Travels in India,* Vol. II (London, 1905), p. 190.

Chapter 2

1. *UNESCO History of Mankind* (London, 1963), Vol. I, p. 65.
2. Grahame Clark—*World Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 45.
3. R. J. Forbes in *A History of Technology* (Ox. U. P. 1954), Vol. I, pp. 579 *et seq.*
4. and 5. C. Daryll Forde—*Habitat, Economy and Society* (London, 1963 edition), pp. 454, 455.
6. Elizabeth K. Ralph, H. N. Michael and M. C. Han—*Radiocarbon dates and Reality* (Monthly Applied Science Centre for Archaeology Newsletter, Philadelphia), Vol. 9, No. 1, Aug. 1973.

Chapter 3

1. Romila Thapar—*Conspectus* (India International Centre, New Delhi), No. 3, 1966.
2. Cf. Elizabeth K. Ralph, H. N. Michael and M. C. Itan in Monthly Applied Science Centre for *Archaeology Newsletter,* Philadelphia, Vol. 9, No. 1, Aug. 1973.

Chapter 4

1. K. M. Panikkar—*Geographical factors in Indian history* (Bombay, 1955), pp. 51-52.
2. D. N. Wadia in Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People* (London, 1961), p. 82.
3. C. C. Calder in S. L. Hora's *An Outline of the Field Sciences of India* (Calcutta, 1937), pp. 71-90.
4. K. M. Panikkar—*Op. cit,* p. 30.
5. A. L. Basham—*The Wonder that was India* (Fontana paper back edition, London, 1971) p. 4.
6. O. H. K. Spate—*India and Pakistan* (London, 1954), pp. 257 *et seq.*
   —George B. Cressey—*Asia's Land and Peoples* (New York, 1962), pp. 431-34.
   —W. Gordon East and O. H. K. Spate—*The Changing Map of Asia* (London, 1958 edition), pp. 148 *et seq.*
7. Cressey—*Op. cit,* p. 473.
8. Cressey—*Op. cit.* p. 429.
9. J. P. Cole—*Georgraphy of World Affairs* (Penguin, 1972 edition), p. 179.
10. Cressey—*Op. cit,* p. 33 (adapted).
11. Cf. Nirad C. Chaudhuri—*The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian/The Continent of Circe*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Chapter 5

1. H. D. Sankalia—*Journal of Indian History* (April 1967), p. 103.
2. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*The Birth of Indian Civilization* (Pelican, 1968), p. 28.
3. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* pp. 66, 255.
4. *UNESCO History of Mankind* Vol. I (London, 1963), pp. 167-68.
5. Grahame Clark—*World prehistory* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 37.
6. H. D. Sankalia—*Journal of Indian History,* April 1967, p. 102.
   —Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 74.
7. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 73.
8. A. L. Kroeber—*Anthropology* (New York, 1948 edition), p. 139.
   —Grahame Clark—*Op. cit,* p. 242.
9. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* pp. 53-55.
10. A. H. Dani—*Ancient Pakistan,* Vol. I, 1964.
11. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 74.
12. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit.,* p. 321.
    —A. L. Kroeber—*Op. cit,* p. 139.
    —D. N. Majumdar—*Races and Cultures of India* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 51-63.
13. Irawati Karve—*Kinship Organisation in India* (Poona, 1953), pp. 278 *et seq.*
14. Irawati Karve—*Op. cit,* pp. 279-81.
15. Carleton S. Coon—*The History of Man* (London, 1955 edition), p. 56.
16. E. G. Pulleyblank—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* (London, 1966, Parts 1 and 2), p. 35.
17. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee—*The History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. I (London, 1952), pp. 150-52.

Chapter 6

1. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 54.
2. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 78.
3. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 90.
4. B. B. Lal—*Ancient India,* Nos. 18 and 19 (1962 and 1963), p. 218.
   —Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 82.
5. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 78.
6. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 92.
7. H. D. Sankalia and Irawati Karve—*American Anthropologist,* Vol. LI, 1949, p. 34.
8. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 96.
9. Verrier Elwin—*The Tribal Art of Middle India* (London, 1951), figs. 211, 219 and 224.
10. Col. D. H. Gordon—*The prehistoric background of Indian Culture* (Bombay, 1958), p. 109.
11. *UNESCO History of Mankind* (London, 1963), Vol. I, pp. 85, 172.
12. Grahame Clark—*World Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 45.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

13. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 297.
—D. H. Gordon—*The prehistoric background of Indian Culture* (Bombay 1958), pp. 98 *et seq.*
14. V. Gordon Childe—*The Prehistory of European Society* (Pelican, London, 1958), p. 20.
15. V. Gordon Childe—*Op. cit,* pp. 20-33.

Chapter 7

1. Margaret Mead—*Sex and Temperament* (Mentor, New York, 1950), p. 190.
2. Grahame Clark—*World prehistory* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 201-02.
3. Sonia Cole—*The Neolithic Revolution* (British Museum, 1961), p. 16.
4. Carleton Coon—*The History of Man* (London, 1955), p. 166.
5. Carleton Coon—*Op. cit,* pp. 114 *et seq.*
6. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 160.
7. S. C. Malik—*Indian Civilization, the formative period* (Simla, 1968), p. 90.
8. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 262.
9. Sir Mortimer Wheeler—*Early India and Pakistan* (London, 1959), p. 91.
10. *Journal of Indian History,* December 1967, p. 790.
11. I. Karthikeya Sarma and B. P. Singh—*Journal of Indian History,* Dec. 1967.
12. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 168.
13. *Journal of Indian History,* April 1964, p. 114.
14. H. D. Sankalia in the *Journal of Indian History,* April 1967, p. 106.
15. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 232.
16. N. R. Banerjee—*The Iron Age in India* (Delhi, 1965), p. 210.
17. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 262.
18. Mortimer Wheeler—*Op. cit,* pp. 87-88.
Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* pp. 173-77.
19. Mortimer Wheeler—*Op. cit,* p. 88.
—Grahame Clark—*Op. cit,* pp. 202-05.
20. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 172.
21. H. D. Sankalia—Archaeology in Post-Independence India in *India International Centre* (New Delhi) *Quarterly.* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1974, p. 24.
22. S. C. Malik—*Op. cit,* p. 87.
23. *Indian Archaeology,* 1963-64, p. 56.
24. V. D. Misra in *Journal of Indian History,* April 1970, p. 167.
25. A. Ghosh—*Ancient India,* No. 7, 1951, pp. 69-70
26. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 291.
27. N. R. Banerjee—*Op. cit,* pp. 51-54.
28. N. R. Banerjee—*Op. cit,* p. 54.
29. M. V. Voewodski—*Sovietskaya Archaeologica,* 2, 61, 1936.
30. Sir charles Singer et al—*A History of Technology* (Ox. U.P. 1954), Vol. 1, p. 276.
31. Sir Ccharles Singer *et al—Op. cit,* p. 432.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

32. V. Gordon Childe—*What happened in history* (Pelican, 1946), p. 57.
33. *UNESCO History of Mankind,* Vol. I (London, 1963), p. 340.
34. Cf. Prof. Anna Pankratova—*A History of the U.S.S.R.* (Moscow, 1947), Part I, p. 17.
35. Cited by Baron Omar Rolf Ehrenfels—*Mother Right in India* (Hyderabad, 1941), p. 106.
36. Irawati Karve—*Kinship Organisation in India* (Poona, 1953), p. 87.
37. Ehrenfels—*Op. cit. p.* 104.
38. Ehrenfels—*Op. cit,* p. 36.
39. Ehrenfels—*Op. cit,* p. 41.
40. Ehrenfels—*Op. cit,* p. 40.
41. Ehrenfels—*Op. cit,* pp. 18-35.
42. Ehrenfels—*Op. cit,* p. 106.
—D. P. Chattopadhyaya—*Lokayata* (New Delhi 1959), p. 291.
43. Cited in Ehrenfels—*Op. cit,* p. 130.
44. Irawati Karve—*Op. cit,* pp. 173-74.
45. Ehrenfels—*Op. cit,* p. 105.
46. Ehrenfels—*Op. cit,* p. 185.
47. D. P. Chattopadhyaya—*Lokayata* (New Delhi, 1959), p. 293.

Chapter 8

1. R. J. Forbes in *A History of Technology* (Ox. U. P. 1954), Vol. I, pp. 579 *et seq.*
2. Grahame Clark—*World prehistory* (Cambridge 1961), pp. 149-50.
—*Unesco History of Mankind,* Vol. I (London, 1963), pp. 363 *et seq.*
—Carleton Coon—*The History of Mankind* (London, 1955),
—R. J. Forbes—*Op. cit.*
3. V. Gordon Childe—*Man Makes Himself* (Mentor, New York, 1951), p. 127.
Jaroslav Cerny—*Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, 1952), p. 57.
4. Grahame Clark—*World prehistory* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 89.
5. Grahame Clark—*Op. cit,* p. 105.
6. V. Gordon Childe—*Op. cit,* p. 77.
7. R. Heine—Geldern—*Man LVI* (1950), p. 151.
8. B. B. Lal—*Ancient India,* No. 9, p. 93.
9. Sir Mortimer Wheeler—*Early India and Pakistan* (London, 1959), pp. 126-27.
10. R. J. Forbes—*Op. cit,* pp. 285 *et seq.*
11. Grahame Clark—*Op. cit,* pp. 149-50
12. Sir Charles Singer *et al*—*A History of Technology* (Ox. U.P. 1954), Vol. I, p. 607.
13. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 204.

Chapter 9

1. Stuart Piggott (editor)—*The Dawn of Civilization* (London, 1961), pp. 322-23.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

2. Stuart Piggott—*Op. cit,* pp. 315 *et seq.*
Also Owen Lattimore—*Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Boston, 1962 edition).
3. Sir Ernest Barker *et al*—*The European Inheritance* Vol. I, (Oxford, 1955 edition) pp. 85-86.
4. Stuart Piggott—*Op. cit,* pp. 315 *et seq.*
5. Ellsworth Huntington—*Mainsprings of Civilization* (1945).
6. E. G. Pulleyblank—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London (1966, Parts 1 and 2), p. 35.
7. *UNESCO History of Mankind* (1963), Vol. 1, p. 479.
8. C. Daryll Forde—*Habitat, Economy and Society* (London, 1963), pp. 302-03.
9. C. Daryll Forde—*Op. cit,* p. 68.
10. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 145.
11. D. K. Sen—*Ancient India,* Nos. 20 and 21, 1964-65, pp. 178 *et. seq.*
12. V. D. Misra in *Journal of Indian History,* April 1970, p. 167.
13. T. Burrow—*Journal of Indian History,* April 1963, pp. 159 *et seq.*
14. *Taittiriya Samhita* II. 3.4.2.
Taittiriya Samhita II 2.3.3./2.7.2.
15. *Atharva Veda XIX.* 7.66. 1.
16. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 147.
17. N. R. Banerjee—*The Iron Age in India* (Delhi, 1965), p. 197.
18. N. R. Banerjee—*Op. cit,* pp. 196-97.
19. N. R. Banerjee—*Op. cit,* pp. 197-98.
—Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 252.
20. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 265.
21. Buddha Prakash—*Political and Social Movements in Ancient Panjab* (Delhi, 1964), pp. 86-88.
22. Buddha Prakash—*Op. cit,* p. 88.
23. Buddha Prakash—*Op. cit,* p. 87.
24. Buddha Prakash—*Op. cit,* pp. 129-31.
25. Buddha Prakash—*Op. cit,* pp. 85-134.
26. *Mahabharata* 1. 101, 6-10.
27. B. B. Lal—*Ancient India,* Nos. 10 & 11, pp. 14-15.
28. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* pp. 220 *et seq.*
29. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* pp. 229-30.
30. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 232.
31. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 317.
32. Christoph von Fuhrer-Haimendrof—*Tamil Culture II,* No. 2, 1953.
33. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* pp. 230-32.
34. Romila Thapar—*Address before the Varanasi Session of the Indian History Congress,* Dec. 1969 (pp. 11-12).
35. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar—*Studies in Tamil Literature and History* (Madras 1936), pp. 4, 21.
—K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar—*The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bhavan's History), p. 293.
36. N. Subrahmanian—*Sangam Polity* (Bombay, 1966), pp. 318 *et seq.*
37. N. Subrahmanian—*Op. cit,* p. 254.
38. N. Subrahmanian—*Op. cit,* p. 254.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

39. A. L. Basham—*The Wonder that was India* (Indian edition, Calcutta, 1967), p. 63.
40. Mortimer Wheeler—*Early India anl Pakistan* (London, 1959), p. 126.
41. Buddha Prakash—*Political & Social Movements in Ancient Panjab* (Delhi, 1964), pp. 8-84.
42. Buddha Prakash—*Op. cit,* pp. 241 et seq.

Chapter 10

1. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 265.
2. B. K. Thapar—Article on "The Aryans : a reappraisal of the problem" in *India's contribution to World Thought and Culture* (Vivekanand Rock Memorial Committee).
3. A. H. Dani—*Timargarh and Gandhara Grave Culture*—Ancient Pakistan Vol. III (Peshwar 1967).
4. B. K. Thapar—Article cited.
5. B. K. Thapar—Article cited.
6. D. D. Kosambi—*The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1970 edition), p. 91.
7. Marija Gimbutas—*American Anthropologist* 65 (1963) 815-12.
8. E. G. Pulleyblank—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1966) Parts 1 & 2, pp. 9-39.
9. *Vsyemirnaya Istoriya* (Moskva, 1955) Tom. 1, p. 459.

Chapter 11

1. Carleton S. Coon—*The History of Man* (London, 1955), pp. 190 *et seq.*
2. Sonia Cole—*Races of Man* (British Museum, London, 1963), p. 50.
3. C. D. Darlington—*The Evolution of Man and Society* (New York, 1969), p. 38.
4. C. D. Darlington—*Op. cit,* p. 38.
5. Carleton S. Coon—*Op. cit,* p. 200.
6. C. D. Darlington—*Op. cit,* pp. 43-44.
7. C. D. Darlington—*Op. cit,* p. 44.
8. Sonia Cole—*Op. cit,* p. 21.
9. Sonia Cole—*Op. cit,* p. 72.
10. Sonia Cole—*Op. cit,* p. 87.
11. Sonia Cole—*Op. cit.* p. 51.
12. G. S. Ghurye—*Caste and Class in India* (Bombay, 1957), pp. 120-22.
13. D. N. Majumdar—*Races & Cultures of India* (Bombay 1961), p. 105.
14. G. S. Ghurya—*Op. cit,* p. 85.
15. R. S. Sharma—*Sudras in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1958)
16. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit,* p. 229.
17. *Amarakosha III,* 5.27.
18. *Kamasutra VI,* 6.54.
19. *Valmiki Ramayana, II.* 34.13 ; 39.36.
20. *Valmiki Ramayana II,* 118.33.
21. J. Przyluski—*Ancient People of the Punjab* (Calcutta edition, 1960).

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

22. *Epigraphica Indica,* VIII, 221.
23. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Extra No. 49.
24. *Acient India,* Vol. V, p. 48.
25. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee in *History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. I (London, 1952 edition), pp. 147 et seq.
26. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee—*Op. cit,* pp. 157 et seq.
27. Prof. T. Burrow in *Chambers' Encyclopaedia* (1959 edition), Vol. 12, p. 204.
28. Jean Przyluski—*Revue de l'universite de Bruxelles* Vol. 37 (1931-32), p. 285.
29. Irawati Karve—*Kinship Organisation in India* (Poona, 1953), p. 173.
30. Irawati Karve—*Op. cit,* pp. 277-78.
31. D. N. Majumdar and T. N. Madan—*An Introduction to Social Anthropology* (Bombay, 1956), pp. 254-56.
32. E. G. Pulleyblank—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1966, Parts 1 & 2), p. 35.
33. J. Przyluski—*Ancient Peoples of the Punjab* (Calcutta edition, 1960).
34. Paper read before the 45th session of the All India Science Congress in Madras (Jan. 1958).
35. Cf. X. S. Thani Nayagam—*Tamil Culture and Civilization* (Bombay, 1970), p. 207.

Chapter 13

1. S. C. Malik—*Indian Civilization* (The Formative Period) (Simla, 1968), p. 113.
2. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*The Birth of Indian Civilization* (Pelican, 1968), p. 123.
3. Romila Thapar—*President's Address,* Section I, Indian History Congress, 31st session (Varanasi), p. 2.
4. Sir Mortimer Wheeler—*India and Pakistan* (London, 1959), pp. 64-71.
5. Ruston Coulborn—*The Origin of Civilized Societies* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 5-15.
6. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 323.
7. D. D. Kosambi—*The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India* (New Delhi edition, 1970), p. 64.
8. D. D. Kosambi—*Op. cit,* p. 66.
9. D. D. Kosambi—*Op. cit,* p. 68.
10. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 244.
11. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 136.
12. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*Op. cit,* p. 307.
13. D. P. Chattopadhayay—*Lokayata* (New Delhi, 1959), pp. 294-295.
14. Y. Knorozov *et al—Proto-India,* 1968.
Asko Parpola *et al—Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilization/Progress in the Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Indus Script/Further Progress in the Decipherment of the Indus Script*—The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen, 1969.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

15. N. R. Banerjee—*The Iron age in India* (Delhi 1965), pp. 76 *et al.*
—Romila Thapar—*Varanasi Address* cited, 1969, p. 17.
16. D. D. Kosambi—
(i) *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic, Society,* 26, 1950, pp. 21-80.
(ii) *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay, 1950).
17. D. D. Kosambi—*The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1970 edition), pp. 82-83.
18. *Mahabharata* V 12. 411-13 ; XII. 283, 10153-200 ; IX, 44, 2430-44.
—*Ramayana,* VII, 85, 19 ; 86, 2.
—F. G. Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (New Delhi, 1962 edition), p. 307.
19. Pargiter—*Op. cit,* p. 307.
20. Pargieer—*Op. cit.,* p. 197.
21. D. D. Kosambi—*Op. cit,* p. 99.
22. *Mahabharata* V. 12, 411-13 ; XII, 283, 10153-200 ; IX. 44, 2430-44.
Ramayana VII, 85, 19 ; 85, 2.
—F. G. Pargiter—*Op. cit,* p. 307.
23. D. D. Kosambi—*Op. cit.* p. 99.
24. D. N. Majumdar—*Races and Cultures of India* (Bombay, 1961 edition), p. 299.
25. G. S. Ghurye—*Caste and Class in India* (Bombay, 1957 edition), pp. 2-27.
26. Romila Thapar—*Varanasi Address.* pp. 9-10. 1969.
27. Romila Thapar—*Op. cit,* p. 27.
28. *Man in India,* Vol. XVII, No. 4, pp. 252-54.
29. Carleton S. Coon—*The History of Man* (London, 1955 edition), p. 322.
30. Romila Thapar—*A History of India* (Pelican, 1968 edition), p. 19.
31. D. D. Kosambi, *Op. cit,* p. 69.
32. D. P. Chattopadhyay—*Op. cit,* p. 83.
33. A. L. Basham—*The Wonder that was India* (Indian edition, 1967), p. 21.
34. D. P. Chattopadhyay—*Op. cit,* pp. 294-95.
35. D. D. Kosambi—*An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay, 1956), p. 98.
36. D. D. Kosambi—*The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1970 edition), pp. 70-71.
37. Sukumari Bhattacharji—*The Indian Theogony* (Cambridge 1970), pp. 284-87.
38. F. E. Pargiter—*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (New Delhi, 1962 edition), pp. 308 *et seq.*
39. F. E. Pargiter—*Op. cit,* p. 315.
40. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit,* p. 164.
41. S. K. Chatterjee in Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. I (London, 1952 edition), pp. 159-60
42. D. P. Chattopadhyay—*Op. cit,* pp. 258 et seq.
43 D. P. Chattopadhyay—*Op. cit,* pp. 318-19.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Chapter 14

1. *Vayu Purana,* 11. 278.
2. *Vayu Purana* 88. 73.
3. Sylvain Levi—*Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. VII (1931) pp. 173-75/371-76.
4. Louis Dumont—*Homo Hierarchicus* (Paladin English edition, London, 1972), p. 111.
5. T. V. Mahalingam—*Journal of Indian History,* April 1965, pp. 1-70.
6. Irawati Karve—*Kinship Organisation in India* (Poona 1953), pp. 279-83.
7. N. G. Wagle—*Society at the time of the Buddha* (Bombay 1966.
8. S. C. Malik—*Indian Civilization, the Formative Period* (Simla, 1968), p. 144.

Chapter 15

1. Romila Thapar—*Varanasi Address* before the Indian History Congress, Dec. 1969, pp. 7, 23.
2. Bridget and Raymond Allchin—*The Birth of Indian Civilization* (Pelican, 1968), p. 265.
3. R. S. Sharma—*Light on early Indian Society and economy* (Bombay, 1966), p. 56.
4. *Bhavan's History of the Indian People,* Vol. I, (London, 1952 edition), pp. 241-42.
5. R. S. Sharma—*Sudras in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1958), pp. 280 *et seq.*
6. C. Buhler—*Sacred Laws of the Aryans,* Part II, (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. IV), p. 147.
7. *Aitareya Aranyaka* II. 1.1.
8. D. D. Kosambi—*The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India* (Indian edition, Delhi 1970), pp. 89 *et seq.*
9. *Arthashastra* II. 2.
10. *Arthashastra* Book XI, on breaking up of the tribes.
11. *Arthashastra* V. 3.
12. *Arthashastra* I. 13.
13. *Arthashastra* II. 34.
14. A. L. Basham—*The Wonder that was India* (Indian edition, 1971), p. 56.
15. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit,* pp. 265-6.
16. Romila Thapar—*A History of India,* Vol. I., (Penguin, 1968 edition), p. 91.
17. Buddha Prakash—*Studies in Indian History and Civilization* (Agra, 1962), pp. 240-261.
18. Cf. Shobha Mukherji—*The Republican Trends in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1969), p. 194.
19. R. S. Sharma—*Light on Early Indian Society and Economy* (Bombay 1966), pp. 69-70.
20. R. S. Sharma—*Indian Feudalism* c. 300-1200 (Calcutta 1965), p. 272.
21. R. S. Sharma—*Sudars in Ancient India* (Patna, 1958), p. 177. —Kurma Purana Ch. 30, pp. 304-5.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

22. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit,* pp. 250-51.
23. The conclusions follow the researches of Prof. R. S. Sharma, as contained in the books cited earlier—*Sudras in Ancient India, Indian Feudalism* and *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy.*
24. R. S. Sharma—*Indian Feudalism* circa 300-1200 (Calcutta 1965), p. 272.
25. A. S. Altekar—*The Rashtrakutas and their times* (Poona, 1934), p. 264.
26. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit,* pp. 156 et seq.
27. Romila Thapar—*Op. cit,* p. 221.
28. Roma Niyogi—*The History of the Gahadavala Dynasty* (Calcutta, 1959), p. 181.
29. J. Filliozat in Rena Taton (editor)—*Ancient and Medieval Science* (English edition, London 1963), p. 150.
—O. P. Jaggi—*Scientists of Ancient India* (Delhi 1966) pp. 121 *et seq.*
30. O. P. Jaggi—*Op. cit,* pp. 141-45.
31. *Valmiki Ramayana*—II, 27. 4/III. 9. 6. 8/II. 27, 2/II. 29. 7/II. 118 50. 52 etc.
32. *Valmiki Ramayana*—II. 9. 15-16.
33. *Valmiki Ramayana*—I. 14. 33.
34. R. S. Sharma—*Sudras in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1958) pp. 280 *et seq.*
35. Romila Thapar—*A History of India* Vol. I (Penguin, 1968 edition), p. 35.
36. R. S. Sharma—*Light on Early Indian Society and Economy* (Bombay, 1966), pp. 60 *et seq.*
37. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit,* p. 62.
38. *Jataka,* Vol. IV, p. 279.
39. R. S. Sharma—*Sudras in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1968), pp. 101 *et seq.*
40. R. S. Sharma—*Light on Early Indian Society & Economy* (Bombay, 1966), pp. 29-33.
41. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit,* p. 114.
42. *Vinaya Pitaka*—IV. 181-2.
43. *Apastamba Dharma-Sutra* I. 9. 25. 13.
Baudhayana Dharma-Sutra I. 10. 19. 6.
44. Buddha Prakash—*Address* before the All-India Oriental Conference, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 2-3.
45. Romila Thapar—*Varanasi Address,* Indian History Congress, Dec. 1969, p. 10.
46. *Manusmriti* VIII, 164. IX. 44.
Buddha Prakash—*Presidential Address,* All India Oriental Conference, Varanasi, 1968, p. 8.
47. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit,* pp. 74, 83-84.
48. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit,* pp. 86-87.
49. *Amarakosha* II. 10. 15-18, 10. 38-39.
pp. 236, 240.
R. S. Sharma—*Sudras in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1958),
50. R. S. Sharma—*Light on Early Indian Society and Economy* (Bombay, 1966), p. 88.
51. O. P. Jaggi—*Scientists of Ancient India* (Delhi, 1966), p. 97.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

52. Jean Filliozat in *Ancient and Medieval Science* edited by Rene Taton (English translation, London, 1963), p. 139.
53. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.*, p. 222.
54. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.*, p. 183.
55. *Susruta Samhita* III. 10, 54 ff.
56. *Manu* V. 62.
57. *Narada* XII. 97 ; Parashara IV. 30. *Agni Purana* c. liv. 51.
58. *Manu* VIII. 418.
59. *Yuga Purana*, 167.
60. R. S. Sharma—*Sudras in Ancient India* (Patna, 1958), p. 177.
61. *Kurma Purana* Ch. 30, *Matsya Purana* Ch. 272 *Vayu Purana* Ch. 58, *Brahmanda Purana* Part II, Ch. 31.
62. *Manu* VIII. 270.
63. *Manu* VIII. 271.
64. *Manu* VIII. 271.
65. *Manu* VIII. 282-83.
66. *Manu* II. 137.
67. *Raghuvamsa* XV. 53.
68. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.*, pp. 242-44,
69. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.*, pp. 253-54.
70. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.*, pp. 265-66, p, 276,
71. *Brihaspati Smriti* edited by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (Baroda 1941), p. 21.
72. *Yajnavalkya* I. 116.
73. Cf. the treatment in the book *Hindu Castes and Sects* by J. N. Bhattacharya (Calcutta 1896).
74. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.*, p. 273.
75. K. A. Nilakanta Shastri—*The Culture and History of the Tamils* (Calcutta, 1964), p. 131.
76. R. S. Sharma—*Indian Feudalism* C. 300-1200 (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 133-34.
77. *Alberuni's India*—translated by E. C. Sachau Vol. I. (London, 1910), pp. 22-23.
78. D. D. Kosambi—*An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay 1956), pp. 329-33.
79. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—*The Culture and History of the Tamils* (Calcutta, 1964), p. 108.
80. Pushpa Niyogi—*Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India* (Calcutta, 1962), p. 245.
81. Romila Thapar—*A History of India* (Penguin 1968 edition), p.p. 185-86.
82. B. N. Sharma—*Social Life in Northern India* (A.D. 600-1000) (Delhi, 1966), p. 182.
83. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.*, p. 452.
84. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—*Op. cit.*, p. 134.
85. Stella Kramrisch—*The Art of India through the Ages* (London, 1955 edition), p. 209.
86. H. D. Sankalia—*Journal of Indian History*, April 1966, p. 38.
87. Stella Kramrisch—*The Hindu Temple*, 1957, *Marg*, Vol. X.
88. Mulk Raj Anand—*Marg*, Vol. X.
89. H. D. Sankalia—*Op. cit.*, p. 37.
90. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.*, p. 377.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

91. E. M. Pope in *A History of Technology* (ed. Charles Singer) (Ox. U.P. 1956), Vol. II, pp. 86-93.
92. C. P. Fitzgerald—*China* (London, 1954), pp. 76, 82.
93. C. P. Fitzerald—*Op. cit.*, p. 60.
94. C. P. Fitzgerald—*Op. cit.*, p. 76.
95. G. B. Sansom—*Japan* (London, 1952), p. 50.
96. G. B. Sansom—*Op. cit.*, pp. 505-10.
97. *Rig Veda* IX. 113. 7-8.
98. Father Stephen Fuchs—*The Origin of Man and his Culture* (London, 1963), p. 241.
99. *Chandogya Upanishad* V. 10. 7-8.
Also, *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad,* VI. 2. 15-16.
100. *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* III. 2.13.
101. Stephen Fuchs—*Op. cit.*, pp. 236 *et seq.*
102. C. G. Seligman—*The Races of Africa* (Oxford, 1959 edition), p. 180.
103. Stephen Fuchs—*Op. cit.*, pp. 238-39.
104. C. G. Seligman—*Op. cit.*, p. 181.
105. *Chandogya Upanishad,* III. 14-1.
106. *Chandogya Upanishad* VI. 8.7.
107. *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* II. 3.6. III. 9.16.
108. *Kathopanishad* II. 23.
109. *Kathopanishad* III. 14.
110. *Brithadaranyaka Upanishad* I. 3.28.
111. Ninian Smart—*The Religious Experience of Mankind* (Fontana, 1971), p. 689.
112. O. H. K. Spate—*India and Pakistan* (London, 1954), p. 654.
113. Louis Dumont—*Homo Hierarchicus* (English edition, Paladin, London, 1970), p. 21.

Chapter 16

1. R. Ghirshman—*Les Chionites*—Hepthalites, Cairo 1948.
O. G. von Woesendonk—*Kusan,* Chioniten and Hepthaliten, Klio (1933), p. 345.
Atreyi Ray—*Journal of Indian History,* Aug. 1965. Upendra Thakur—*Journal of Indian History,* April 1966. Rahula Sankrityayana—*History of Central Asia* (Calcutta 1964), p. 114.
2. G. C. Dwivedi—*Journal of Indian History,* Aug. 1970, pp. 377-394.
3. Khushwant Singh—*A History of the Sikhs* Vol. I (Princeton, 1963), p. 14.
4. *Journal of Indian History,* Aug. 1968, pp. 227-48.
5. Cf. Buddha Prakash—*Studies in Indian History and Civilization* (Agra, 1962), pp. 240-61.
6. Cf. B. Suryavanshi—*The Abhiras* (Baroda, 1962).
7. J. N. Bhattacharya—*Hindu Castes and Sects* (Calcutta, 1968 edition), pp. 109-115.
8. N. K. Dutta—*Origin and Growth of Caste in India* (Calcutta 1968), Vol. I, p. 114.
9. G. S. Ghurye—*Caste and Class in India* (Bombay, 1957), p. 138.
10. N. K. Dutt—*Op. cit.*, p. 115.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

11. N. Subrahmanian—*Sangam Polity* (Madras, 1966), p. 296.
12. N. K. Dutt—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp, 46-47.
13. N. K. Dutt—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp, 49 *et seq.*
14. N. K. Dutt—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp, 56-57.
15. N. K. Dutt—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp, 52-53.
16. N. K. Dutt—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p, 48.

Chapter 17

1. For facts the chief indebtedness is to Philip K. Hitti's—*The Near East in History* (Princeton, 1961).
2. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 80.
—P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 189.
3. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 189.
4. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 233.
5. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, *p*. 251.
6. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 250.
7. Thorkild Jacobsen and Robert M. Adams—*Salt and Silt in Ancient Mesopotamian Agriculture* (Science, XXVIII, 1953), 1257.
8. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 275.
9. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 235.
10. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 254.
11. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 285.
12. P. K. Hitti—*Op. cit.*, p. 285.
13. R. A. Nicholson—*A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1953 edition), p. 403.
14. W. Logan—*Malabar Manual* (Madras 1887-91), Vol. I, p. 245.
15. *Manorama Year Book*, 1974, p. 324.
16. I. H. Qureshi—*The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (610-1947) (Hague, 1962), p. 14.
17. Ishwari Prasad—*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India* (Allahabad, 1939), p. 41.
18. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 38.
19. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
20. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 42.
21. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Indian Army through the Ages* (Bombay 1966), pp. 50-51.
22. P. K. Hitti—*History of the Arabs* (London, 1958 edition), p. 158.
23. Aziz Ahmad—*Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford, 1964), p. 108.
24. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 36.
25. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 45.
26. A. M. A. Shustery—*Outlines of Islamic Culture* (Bangalore, 1954), p. 25.
27. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 58.
28. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 109.
29. I. H. Qureshi—*Op.* cit., p. 35.
30. M. Mujeeb—*The Indian Muslims* (London, 1967), p. 18.
31. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 111.
32. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 112.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

33. P. K. Hitti—*The Near East in History* (Princeton, 1961), p. 305.
34. K. A. Nizami—*Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century* (Bombay, 1961), p. 106.
35. A. Rashid—*Society and Culture in Medieval India* (Calcutta, 1969), pp. 2-3.
36. Mohammad Habib in K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.*, p. xx.
37. W. H. Moreland—*The Agrarian System of Moslem India* (1929 Allahabad edition), p. 21.
38. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 79.
39. Sir J. N. Sarkar—*History of Aurangzeb* (Calcutta 1912-24), Vol. V. pp. 475-9.
40. Ishwari Prasad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 646-47.
41. Ishwari Prasad—*Op. cit.*, p. 642.
42. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Indian Army through the Ages* (Bombay, 1966), pp. 99. *et seq.*
43. K. K. Datta—*Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century* (1707-1813) (Calcutta 1961), p. 46.
44. N. S. Gupta—*Industrial structure of India during medieval period* (Delhi, 1970), p. 147.
45. Ishwari Prasad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.
46. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.
47. K. A. Nizami in *Central Asia* (edited by Amalendu Guha, Delhi 1970), p. 160.
48. K. M. Asraf—*Life and Conditions of the people of Hindusthan* (1200-1550 A.D.) (Calcutta 1935), p. 222.
49. K. M. Ashraf—*Op. cit.*, pp. 221, 224.
50. K. M. Ashraf—*Op. cit.*, p. 223.
51. *Vsyemirnaya Istoriya* (Moskva, 1958) Tom. IV, p. 580.
52. Prof. Sayyid Nurul Hasan in *Problems of Historical Writing in India* (India International Centre, New Delhi, 1963), p. 65.
53. J. P. S. Uberoi in *Central Asia* edited by Amalendu Guha (New Delhi, 1970), p. 196.
54. W. H. Moreland—*The Agrarian System of Moslem India* (1929, Allahabad edition), p. 129.
55. Percival Spear—*A History of India* (Penguin 1956), Vol. 2, p. 45.
56. Tapan Kumar Ray Chaudhury—*Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir* (Calcutta, 1953), p. 179.
57. Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi—*Op. cit.*, p. 232.
58. Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi—*Op. cit.*, p. 233.
59. Romila Thapar in *Ideas in History* edited by Bisheshwar Prasad (Bombay 1968), pp. 329-30.
60. A. L. Srivastava—*Journal of Indian History*, Aug. 1965, p. 360.
61. Buddha Prakash—*The Muslim conquest of Northern India* (Hoshiarpur, 1963), p. 17.
62. Ahmad Hasan Dani—*Journal of Indian History*, April 1964, p. 239.
63. Ahmad Hasan Dani—*Op. cit.*, p. 237.
64. In Romila Thapar *et al*—*Communalism and the writing of Indian History* (Delhi 1969), p. 28.
65. *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. I, p. 331.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

66. Sir Jadunath Sarkar—*Hindustan Standard,* 7th March, 1954.
67. A. R. Hall in *A History of Technology* (Ox. U.P. 1956) Vol. II, p. 721.
68. Quoted by K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.,* p. 82.
69. Satish Chandra in *Central Asia* edited by Amalendu Guha (Delhi, 1970), p. 170.
70. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.,* p. 170. R. S. Sharma in *Central Asia* edited by Amalendu Guha (Delhi 1970), p. 176.
71. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.,* p. 179.
72. Lynn White Jr.—*Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Ox. U.P. 1962), pp. 14-15.
73. Lynn White Jr.—*Op. cit.,* p. 15.
74. Oken Lattimore—*Inner Asian frontiers of China* (Boston, 1962 edition), p. 465.
75. Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller—*The decisive battles of the Western World Vol. I* (London 1954), pp. 389-405.
76. C. D. Darlington—*The Evolution of Man and Society* (New York, 1969), p. 432.
77. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.,* p. 177.
78. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.,* p. 82.
79. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.,* p. 87.
80. A. L. Srivastava—*Op. cit.,* p. 367.
81. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.,* p. 81.
82. Rahula Sankrityayana—*History of Central Asia* (Calcutta 1964), p. 256.
83. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Indian Army through the Ages* (New Delhi 1966), p. 92.
84. Michael Prawdin—*The Mongol Empire* (English edition, London 1940), pp. 102 *et seq.*
85. Lt. Col. Gautam sharma—*Op. cit.,* pp. 72 *et seq.*
86. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Op. cit.,* p. 79.
87. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Op. cit.,* pp. 82-84.
88. Satish Chandra in *Central Asia* (edited by Amalendu Guha, Delhi 1970), pp. 168-69.
89. P. K. Hitti—*The Near East in History* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 295-96.
Ann K. S. Lambton—*Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (Oxford 1953), p. 49.
90. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.,* p. 127.
91. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.,* p. 107.
92. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.,* p. 105.
93. M. Habib in K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.,* p. xii.
94. A. Rashid—*Society and Culture in Medieval India* (Calcutta, 1969), pp. 2-3.
95. Ibn Batuta—*Travels in Asia and Africa* (London, 1929) p. 184.
—I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.* p. 82.
—H. K. Sherwani—*Mahmud of Gawan* (Allahabad 1942), pp. 62, 63.
96. Prabha Dixit—*Communalism* (New Delhi, 1974), p. 14.
97. Prabha Dixit—*Op. cit.,* p. 15.
98. Prabha Dixit—*Op. cit.,* p. 15.
99. A. A. Fyzee—*Outlines of Mohammedan Law* (London, 1964), pp. 104-5.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

100. F. Bernier—*Travels in the Mogul Empire* (New Delhi, 1968 edition), p. 404.
101. K. M. Ashraf—*Op. cit.*, pp. 170 *et seq.*
—A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, pp. 5 *et seq.*
—Prabha Dixit—*Op. cit.*, pp. 15 *et seq.*
102. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 105-107.
103. Assia Djebar—*Women of Islam* (English edition, London 1961), p. 27.
104. Assia Djebar—*Op. cit.*, p. 27.
105. Robert Briffault—*The Mothers* (one-volume edition) (London, 1959 edition), p. 224.
106. Aparna Chattopadhyay—*Journal of Indian History*, Aug. 1967.
107. K. A. Nizami—*Op. ci.*, pp. 88-89.
Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 7.
108. A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
109. K. M. Ashraf—*Op. cit.*, p. 183.
110. K. M. Ashraf—*Op. cit.*, p. 183.
111. Sir J. N. Sarkar—*Mughal Administration* (Calcutta, 1935), pp. 6-7.
112. C. H. Becker in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ii. 13.
113. Iswari Prasad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 450-51.
114. P. Hardy in *Sources of Indian Tradition* by W. T. de Bary *et al* (Indian edition, Delhi 1958), p. 362.
115. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 153.
116. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 188.
117. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 183.
118. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 189.
119. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 189.
120. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 189.
121. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 104-05.
122. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 197.
123. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 197.
124. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 197-98.
125. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Op. cit.*, p. 106.
126. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Op. cit.*, p. 160.
127. Ishwari Prasad—*Op. cit.*, p. 605.
128. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 199.
129. *Patriot*, 23rd June, 1971.
130. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 201.
131. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 205.
132. G. E. von Grunebaum—*Islam* (London, 1961 edition), p. 71.
133. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 206.
134. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 208.
135. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 209.
136. K. A. Nizami—*Op.* cit., p. 181.
137. A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, p. 177.
138. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.*, p. 175.
139. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.*, p. 175.
140. A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, p. 190.
141. Dinesh Chandra Sen—*History of Bengali Language and Literature* (Calcutta, 1911), pp. 36-37.
142. Benoy Kumar Sarkar—*The Folk element in Hindu Culture* (London, 1917), pp. 225 ff.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

143. Ishwari Prasad—*Op. cit.*, p. 364.
144. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 288.
145. M. Mujeeb—*The Indian Muslims* (London, 1967), p. 388.
146. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 138-39.
147. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.
148. A. M. A. Shustery—*Outlines of Islamic Culture* (Bangalore, 1955), p. 163.
149. S. M. Ikram in *The Culture Heritage of Pakistan* edited by S. M. Ikram and Percival Spear (London, 1955).
M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, p. 351.
150. P. Hardy in C. H. Philips —*Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 122-23.
151. P. Hardy—*Op. cit.*, p. 126.
152. P. Hardy—*Op. cit.*, p. 124
153. P. Hardy—*Op. cit.*, p. 124.
154. P. Hardy—*Op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.
155. P. Hardy—*Op. cit.*, pp. 117 *et seq.*
156. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, p. 334.
157. Abdur Rashid in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (ed. C. H. Philips, Oxford 1961), p. 151.
158. Amjad Ali—*Op. cit.*, p. 71.
159. Amjad Ali—*Op. cit.*, p. 72.
160. M. Wahid Mirza—*Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* (Punjab University, 1935), pp. 238-39.
161. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, p. 351.
162. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 38.
163. R. C. Majumdar *et al*—*An Advanced History of India* (London, 1950), p. 414.
—A. M. A. Shustery—*Op. cit.*, p. 194.
164. G. E. von Grunebaum—*Op. cit.*, pp. 145-46.
165. Saiyid Ghulam Samnani—*Amir Khusrau* (New Delhi, 1968), pp. 60-61.
166. Saiyid Ghulam Samnani—*Op. cit.*, p. 62.
167. S. M. Ikram in *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (Oxford, 1955), p. 104.
168. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 229.
169. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, pp. 219-22.
170. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi—*Jaisi aur unka Padmavat* (Kashi), p. 198.
171. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, p. 331.
172. Sir J. N. Sarkar—*India Through the Ages* (Calcutta 1928), pp. 87-88.
173. Sir J. N. Sarkar—*Op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.
—*Mughal Administration* (Calcutta, 1935), p. 244.
174. Sir J. N. Sarkar—*India through the Ages* (Calcutta 1928), pp. 88-89.
175. Tara Chand—*Influence of Islam on India's Culture* (Allahabad, 1954), pp. 245-47.
176. Tara Chand—*Op. cit.*, p. 273.
177. C. L. Fabri—*A History of Indian Dress* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 88.
178. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, p. 369.
179. Sir J. N. Sarkar—*Op. cit.*, p. 88.
180. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, pp. 359-60.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

181. P. N. Chopra—*Society and Culture in Mughal Age* (Agra 1963), p. 14.
182. C. L. Fabri—*Op. cit.*, p. 24.
183. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, pp. 351-53.
184. *North Indian Saints* (Natesan, Madras, undated), p. 3.
185. D. S. Sarma—*Hinduism through the Ages* (Bombay, 1955), p. 61.
186. Parasnath Tiwari—*Kabir* (New Delhi, 1967), pp. 68, 71.
187. A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, pp. 245-47.
188. S. K. Chatterjee—*Languages and Literatures of Modern India* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 238.
189. Oroon Ghosh—*The Dance of Shiva and other tales from India* (New York, 1965), pp. 309-11.
190. A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, p. 190.
191. A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, p. 190.
192. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.*, p. 323.
193. K. M. Ashraf—*Op. cit.*, p. 225.
194. Aziz Ahmad—*Op. cit.*, p. 152.
195. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee—*Op. cit.*, p. 130.
196. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, p. 233.
197. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.*, p. 320.
198. A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, p. 227.
199. K. A. Nizami—*Op. cit.*, p. 320.
200. A. Rashid—*Op. cit.*, p. 222.
201. A. B. M. Habibullah—*The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* (Lahore, 1945), p. 297.
202. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, pp. 201-202.
203. Richard N. Frye—*The Heritage of Persia* (1962) pp. 240 *et seq.*
204. I. H. Qureshi—*Op. cit.*, p. 58.
205. M. Mujeeb—*Op. cit.*, p. 54.
206. Harbans Mukhia in *Communalism and the Writing of Indian history* (ed. Romila Thapar, Delhi 1969), p. 31.
207. D. N. Majumdar—*Races and Cultures of India* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 322-23.
208. J. H. Hutton—*Caste in India* (Oxford, fourth edition, 1963, 37-39).
209. D. N. Majumdar—*Op. cit.*, p. 69.
210. D. N. Majumdar—*Op. cit.*, p. 321.
211. D. N. Majumdar—*Op. cit.*, p. 80.
212. D. N. Majumdar *Op. cit.*, p. 203.
213. J. H. Hutton—*Op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.
214. William Crooke—*The North-West Provinces of India*, London, 1897, pp. 262-63.
215. Quoted in E. A. H. Blunt—*Caste System of Northern India*, Reprint, Delhi 1969, p. 190.
216. *Census Report* 1901, Vol. VI. (Bengal), pp. 176-177.
217. Prabha Dixit—*Communalism—A Struggle for power* (Delhi, 1974), p. 21.
218. Prabha Dixit.—*Op. cit.*, p. 15.
219. Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi—*Op. cit.*, p. 81.
220. Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi—*Op. cit.*, p. 267.
221. F. S. Manrique—*Travels of Manrique* 1629-43 (Oxford 1927), II. 152.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

222. R. C. Majumdar *et al—An Advance History of India* (London, 1950 edition), p. 570.
223. R. C. Majumdar *et al—Op. cit.*, p. 570.
224. W. H. Moreland—*India at the death of Akbar* (London, 1920), pp. 221-37.
225. W. H. Moreland—*Op. cit.*, p. 237.
226. N. S. Gupta—*Industrial Structure of India during medieval period* (Delhi, 1970), p. 187.
227. Percival Spear—*A History of India* (Penguin 1956), Vol. 2, p. 45.
228. Tapan Kumar Ray Chaudhuri—*Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir* (Calcutta, 1953), p. 179.
229. Tapan Kumar Ray Caudhury—*Op. cit.*, pp. 168-73.

Chapter 18

1. H. K. Sherwani—*Mahmud of Gawan* (Allahabad, 1943), pp. 62, 63.
2. Tara Chand—*Infuence of Islam on Indian Culture* (Allahabad, 1954), p. 250.
3. Romila Thapar—*A History of India* (Pelican, 1966), pp. 168, 321.
4. R. Sewell—*A Forgotten Empire* (Indian edition, 1962), pp. 70, 71, 248.
5. R. Sewell—*Op. cit.*, pp. 133 *et seq*.
6. R. Sewell—*Op. cit.*, pp. 146, 188, 197, 203.
7. Tara Chand—*Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* (Allahabad, 1954), p. 250.
8. R. C. Majumdar *et al—An Advanced History of Inlia* (London, 1950). p. 373.

Chapter 19

1. G. S. Sardesai—*The Main Currents of Maratha History* (Bombay 1933), p. 62.
2. G. S. Sardesai—*Op. cit.*, p. 62.
3. O. H. K. Spate—*India and Pakistan* (London, 1954), p. 654.
4. M. G. Ranade—*Rise of the Maratha Power* (Bonbay, 1900), p. 36.
5. Lt. Col. G. S. Sharma—*Indian Army through the Ager* (Bombay 1966), p. 161.
6. R. C. Majumdar *et al—An Advanced History of India* (London, 1950), p. 520.
7. Lt. Col. G. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.*, p. 162.
8. S. N. Sen—*Administrative System of the Marathas*
—R. V. Nadkarni—*The rise and fall the Maratha Empire* (Bombay, 1966), pp. 96-97.
9. R. C. Majumdar *et al—Op. cit.*, pp. 522-23.
10. Lt. Col. G. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.*, pp. 175, 176.
11. R. V. Nadkarni—*Op. cit.*, p. 38.
12. Satish Chandra in *Ideas in History* (Bombay, 1968), pp. 173, 175.
13. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, p. 177.
14. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, pp. 186-87.
15. Sir J. N. Sarkar—*Shivaji and his times* (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 306-09.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

16. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, p. 189.
17. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, p. 174.
18. R. V. Nadkarni—*Op. cit.*, pp. 80-85.
19. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, pp. 174-77.
20. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, p. 178.
21. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, pp. 179-80.
22. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, p. 180.
23. Satish Chandra—*Op. cit.*, p. 183.
24. G. S. Sardesai—*Op. cit.*, p. 66.
25. Ravinder Kumar—*Western India in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1968), p. 11.
26. Irawati Karve—'On the Road', *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, p. 22.
27. Ravinder Kumar—*Op. cit.*, pp. 6-11.
28. G. S. Sardesai—*Op. cit.*, p. 198.
29. G. S. Sardesai—*Op. cit.*, p. 199.
30. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Op. cit.*, p. 179.
31. Lt. Col. Gautam Sharma—*Op. cit.*, p. 370.
32. G. S. Sardesai—*Op. cit.*, p. 138.
33. G. S. Sardesai—*Op. cit.*, p. 138.
34. R. V. Nadkarni—*Op. cit.*, p. 335.
35. G. S. Sardesai—*Op. cit.*, p. 76.
36. G. S. Sardesai—*Op. cit.*, p. 48.
37. R. V. Nadkarni—*Op. cit.*, p. 7.

Chapter 20

1. Khushwant Singh—*A History of the Sikhs* Vol. I (Princeton, 1963), p. 67.
2. Khushwant Singh—*Op. cit.*, p. 33.
3. Sher Singh—*Philosophy of Sikhism* (Lahore 1944), pp. 51, 213.
4. Khushwant Singh—*Op. cit.*, p. 43.
5. Khushwant Singh—*Op. cit.*, p. 47.
6. Khushwant Singh—*Op. cit.*, p. 42.
7. M. A. Macauliffe—*The Sikh Religion* (Oxford 1909), Vol. 5, pp. 286-87.
8. Khushwant Singh—*The Sikhs* (London, 1953), p. 37.
9. Fauja Singh in *Ideas in History* edited by Bisheshwar Prasad (Bombay, 1968), p. 198.
10. H. R. Gupta—*History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II (Lahore, 1944), pp. 19-20.
11. Khushwant Singh—*A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I (Princeton, 1963), p. 118.
12. Khushwant Singh—*Op. cit.*, p. 118.
13. D. R. Sood—*Ranjit Singh* (New Delhi, 1968), p. 30.
14. Khushwant Singh—*Op. cit.*, pp. 76-77, pp. 317-18.
15. Ganda Singh in *Ideas in History* edited by Bisheshwar Prasad (Bombay 1968), p. 34.
16. Ganda Singh—*Op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.
17. Khushwant Singh—*The Sikhs* (London, 1953), p. 173.
18. Khushwant Singh—*Op. cit.*, p. 27.
19. D. R. Sood—*Op. cit.*, p. 46.
20. D. R. Sood—*Op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.
21. D. R. Sood—*Op. cit.*, pp. 32 *et req.*

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Chapter 21

1. Richard N. Frye—*The Heritage of Persia* (London, 1962), pp. 248-49.

Chapter 22

1. T. K. Derry and Trevor L. Williams—*A Short History of Technology* (Oxford 1960), pp. 200-201.
2. A. N. Bose—*Social and Rural Economy of Northern India* (Calcutta 1967 edition), Vol. II, pp. 265 *et seq.*
3. A. L. Basham—*The wonder that was India* (Indian edition, 1971), p. 502.
4. O. P. *Jaggi—Scientists of Ancient India* (Delhi, 1966), p. 189.
5. O. P. Jaggi—*Op. cit.,* p. 100.
6. S. K. Das—*The Economic History of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1944), pp. 179-83.
7. R. S. Sharma—*Light on Early Indian Society & Economy* (Bombay 1966), p. 62.
8. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.,* pp. 227-28.
9. *Arthashastra* 3.11.
10. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.,* p. 64.
11. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.,* p. 218.
12. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.,* pp. 63-64.
13. John F. Cady—*South East Asia* (New York, 1964), p. 23.
14. Mortimer Wheeler—*Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers* ((Pelican, 1955), p. 164.
15. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.,* p. 76.
16. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.,* p. 75.
17. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.,* pp. 77-78.
18. R. S. Sharma—*Op. cit.,* p. 73.
19. *Digha Nikaya* III. 61-77 *Mahavastu* I. 347-48.
20. D. C. Sircar—*Inscriptions of Asoka* (Delhi, 1957), pp. 47, 49.
21. D. C. Sircar—*Op. cit.,* p. 71.
22. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.,* p. 9.
23. F. L. Woodward—*Some Sayings of the Buddha* (London, 1951 edition of World Classics), pp. 53-54.
24. *Vinaya Pitaka* I. 238.
25. Romila Thapar—*A History of India* Vol. I (Penguin 1968), p. 88.
26. O. P. Jaggi—*Op. cit.,* pp. 217-18.
27. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.,* p. 368.
28. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.,* p. 369.
29. Paul Masson-Oursel, Helena de Willman—Grabowska and Philippe Stern—*Ancient India and Indian Civilization* (London edition, 1934), p. 381.
30. Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian people* Vol. I (London, 1962 edition), p. 457.
31. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.,* p. 216.
32. D. C. Sircar—*Op. cit.,* p. 71 (5th Pillar Edict).
33. N. Subrahmanian—*Sangam Polity* (Bombay 1966), p. 236.
34. N. Subrahmanian—*Op. cit.,* p. 366.
35. N. Subrahmanian—*Op. cit.,* p. 366.
36. Romila Thapar—*Op. cit.,* p. 131.
37. A. L. Basham—*Op. cit.,* p. 288.
38. G. T. Garratt—*The Legacy of India* (Oxford, 1937), p. 416.

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

INDEX

VOL. I

A.

Abbasids, 290-302, 464
Abdali, Ahmad Shah, 319, 325, 342, 401
Abdin, Zain-ul, 346
Absolutism, 215-16
Agama, 273
Agama and Nigama, 169
Agarwal, D.P., 22, 33
Agrahara villages, 193, 209
Ahalya Bai, 363
Ahirs, 281
Ahl-i-qalam and Ahl-i-saif, 334, 337
Ahmad, Aziz, 305, 340, 342
Ahmad, Shaikh, of Sirhind, 339-42
Ahoms, 196
Aiyan-gar, 284
Aiyar, 284
Ajanta, 452-53
Ajivikas, 451
Akbar, 20, 317-18, 323-24, 332, 334, 338, 340-41, 347, 349-52, 354, 358-59, 403
Aksakov, 248
Al-Afghani, Jamal-al-Din, 310
Al-Baquillani, 349
Al-Beruni, 174, 197, 224
Al-Hallaj, 302
Al-Jahiz, 306
Al-Khwarizmi, 291, 304
Al-Masudi, 306, 465
Alam, Nur Qutb, 346
Alaol, 359
Albuquerque, 394
Allchin, Bridget and Raymond, 22, 34, 54, 59, 112-13, 154, 156
Allen's Rule, 127
Altekar, A.S., 20
Amaru, 219
Ambar, Malik, 317, 399
Ambedkar, B.R., 272
Anand, Mulk Raj, 234
Ansari, Ghaus, 386
Apad dharma doctrine, 214
Aphrodite, 268
Apuleius, 267
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 247
Arjuna, 263, 266
Arnold, of Brescia, 247
Aruneya, Shveta-ketu, 257
Aruni, Uddalaka, 260
Aryabhatta, 21
Aryan and Dravidian,
—False racial dichotomy, 145-46
—Fusion in the North-West, 176-77
Aryans of Indian or Arctic origin
—An ecological view, 132-33
Aryans, Indianisation of, 182-83
Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic, 184-278
—Comparison with other Theo-Aristocratic societies, 252-256
Aryan Trail, 121-24
Ashoka, 20, 23, 191-92, 241, 318, 377
Ashraf, K.M., 376
Ashwamedha sacrifice, 122
Ashwapatis, 315, 328
Astrology, 223
Asvaghosha, 465
Atman, 261-62
Agustine, St. 247
Auliya, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din, 344, 346
Aurangzeb, 24, 353-54, 403
Australoids, 35
Austric, 26
Azad, Abul-Kalam, 340, 342
Aziz, Shah Abdul, 348

B.

Bab, Bahaism, 310
Babar, 348, 350
Bachofen, J., 65
Badaoni, Muilah Abdul Qadir, 349
Baji Rao I, 24, 400, 403
Balban, 327-29
Bana, 211, 220

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Banda Bahadur, 410-11
Banerjee, B., 142
Banerjee, N. R., 106, 113, 122
Banjaras, 453
Baji-billah, Khwaja, 339
Barabar Hills, 451
Barelvi, Sayyid Ahmad, 343, 367
Barni, Zia-al-din, 347, 349-50
Barphukan, Lachit, 366
Basava, 228
Basham, A. L., 26, 117, 166-67, 191-92, 205, 210, 442, 450-51, 457
Baudhayana, 188
Bedil, Mirza Abdul Qadir 360
Bektashi, Haji, 248
Bergmann's Rule, 126, 143-44, 148
Bernard of Clairvaux, St., 247
Bernier, Francois, 364
Beth-al-Hikmah, 297
Bhakti, 23, 221, 227-28, 272-73, 367-77
—*Bhakti sects,* 367-77
Bhaskaracharya, 225
Bhattacharji, Sukumari, 267
Bhattacharya, J. N., 268
Bhavabhuti, 230
Bhave, Vinoba, 272
Bhrigu, 261
Bigarha, Mahmud, 322
Billa Qayf—believing without reasoning, 295, 299
Bilhana, 230
Blache, Vidal de la, 6
Blitz-krieg, 330
Bohme, Jacob, 247
Boriskovsky, Prof., 34
Brahmadeya villages, 193
Brahmagupta, 210
Brahman, 259-262
Brahmans
—Dravidian origin in the Indus Valley Civilization, 160-62
—Fusion with the Aryans in the North West, 176-77
—Fusion with *Adivasi* priests. 177-78
—and Kshatriyas, 178-180
—*Niyogis* and *Shastries,* 216
—New Groups, 282-284
Brahma Shakti, 162
Briffault, Robert, 13, 65,
Bronzes
—Tamil, 235
—Pala, 454
Buddha, Buddhist civilization in India, 23, 434-467
Buddhist art and architecture, 450-54
Burrow, T., 102, 137, 142
Bushido, 245

C.

Casesar, Julius, 247
Caldwell, 142
Casal, J. M., 55
Castanheda, 394
Casta, *jati* and *varna,* 162-65, 274-77
—of Idus Valley origin, 162-65
Chakravarti, Kavi Kankan, Mukhundarama, 573
Chaitanya, 572-73
Chand, Jai, 108
Chand Sultana, 317
Chanda Pajjota, 190
Chandidas, 573-74
Chandra, Pramod, 234
Chandra, Satish, 327
Chang Chien, 245
Chardin, Teilhard de, 262, 266
Charnock, Job, 325
Chaucer, 247
Chaudhuri, General J. N., 276
Chaudhuri, Nirad,
Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar, 42, 136, 138, 169, 572
Chattopadhyay, Aparna, 336
Chattopadhyay, D. P., 76, 158, 166, 169, 442
Chavamana, Abhayavartin, 101
Child Brothers, 324
Chillde, Gordon, 65, 86, 100, 123, 156
Chitpavan Brahmans, 282
Chitrangad, 108
Chekov, 239
Cholas of Thanjavur, 195
Chou, 239
Chun Tzu, 239, 245
Civilization, permanent, semi-permanent and non-permanent elements, 5-7
Climate, of India, 267

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Clark, Grahame, 34, 48
Cole, Sonia, 125
Columba, St., 247
Communications, 28
Confucius, 249
Coon, Carleton, 38, 164
"Copper Hoard" culture of the Gangetic Valley, 61-62
Coulborn, Rushton, 154
Cressey, George B., 28
Crooke, Sir William, 387
Cultural Change, Principles of, 5-9
Cultural Regions, Nuclear, 29

D.

Dakshinapath, 417, 438
Dandin, 220
Dani, Ahmad Hasan, 121, 326
Dante, 248
Dara Shikoh, 347
Darlington's Thesis, 127, 129, 178, 284
Dasa, Jagannath, *Atibada,* 373
Datta, K. K., 319, 326
Daud, Maulana, 358
Dayal, Dadu, 370
De Cardi, Beatrice, 114
De Orta, Garcia, 164
De Terra, H., 56
Deshajas, 208
Dehlavi, Abdul Haqq, 341
Deva, Madhava, 371
Deva, Shankara, 371
Dharma concept, 205
Dharmasvamin, 383
Dharma Thakur, 345
Dhimmis, 293
Didda, 196
Dikshitar, V. R. Ramachandra, 116
Din Ilahi, 347
Diodorous, 114
Diver, Maud, 466
Dixit, Prabha, 388
Djebar, Assia, 336
Dostoevsky, 248
Douglas, Mary, 277
Dravidian, 112-17, 136-41
—Language of Indusian Rulers ? 159-60
Dravidian and Aryan,
—false racial dichotomy, 145-46
Dumont, Louis, 186, 277
Durga,—Indusian origin, 158, 166, 267-68
Durga and Mahishasura, 165-66
Durgavati, Rani, 317
Dutt, N. K., 284
Dwivedi, G. C., 280
Dwivedi, Hazari Prasad, 359

E.

Ehrenfels, Baron Omar Rolf, 69, 71, 73
Eickstedt, Freiherr von, 128
Ekalavya, 202, 213
Eknatha, 571
Elwin, Verrier, 45
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 260
Empires, 28
Encircling tactics, 315, 328-29, 331
Engels, F., 80

F.

Fa Hsien, 193, 212
Faizi, 359
Fakirullah, 354
Farid, Shaikh, 344
Fazl, Abul, 351
Fibonacci, Leonardo of Pisa, 291
Figueiredo, Christovao de, 394
Filliozat, Jean, 210
Firishta, Muhammad Kasim, 351
Firqa painting, 353
Fitch, Ralph, 389
Food-Gatherers and Primitive Hunters, 12, 20, 147
—The World Matrix, 33
—in India, 33-34
—Widespread nature of the stage in India, 35
of India were Australoids, 35
—Civilization similar all over the world, 35-41
—Language of Indian Food-Gatherers, 41-2
—Legacy of the Food Gatherers, 42
Fox, Richard G., 164
Francis of Assissi, St., 247
Frazer, Sir James, 6
Fuchs, Father Stephen, 36, 69, 272

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Fuhrer-Haimendorf, Christoph von, 113
Fuller, R. Buckminster, 264

G.

Gandhi, Mahatma, 273, 372
Gargi Vachaknavi, 257, 259-60
Garratt, G. T., 466
Gayatri Cult, 202
Geopolitical background, 25-9
Gesudaraz, 358
Ghazals, 354
Ghazis, 3, 239
Ghori Muhammad, 108, 321
Ghosh, Subodh, 74
Ghurye, G. C., 130, 163
Grimbutas, Marija, 123
Gita, 263-67
Gloger's Rule, 126
Gogol, 239
Gokhale, Kamal, 342
Goncharov, 239
Gordon, D. H., 33
Gosala, Makkhali, 442
Govind Singh, Guru, 273, 410-418
Gracchi, 240
Grunebaum, G. E. von, 342
Guderian, Heinz, 330
Guha, B. S., 128
Gunadhya, 230
Gunas—sattva, rajas, tamas, 262
Gune, V. T., 404
Gunther-Hagen mentality, 14, 241
Gupta, N. S., 390
Guptas, 209-210

H.

Habibullah, A. B. M., 383
Hafiz, 311
Haig, Sir Wolsey, 404
Hala, 220
Hammira, 328
Harbour facilities, 27
Hart, Liddell, 330
Hasan, Sayyid Nurul, 323
Headlong frontal attacks, 328
Heine-Geldern, 74, 82, 90
Heras, Rev. Father, 144
Heosid, 246
Hevesy, 142
Himu, 330-31
Hindu architecture in Mughal style, 363
Hinduism, Pauranic, 217, 267-71
Hindustani Music, 354-55, 364
Hitti, P. K., 293
Hoernle, 143
Hômer, 246
Horace, 247
Horatius, 247
Horses, 27
Hsuan Tsang, 6, 454
Humayun, 323, 352
Hunas, 279-81
Hunting, Advanced, or Big Game, 12, 26, 43-9, 147
—In India stimulated from abroad, 44-5
—Values and Institutions, 45-8
—Weakness in India, 48-9
—Comparison with Europe, 49
Huntington, Ellsworth, 90
Hutton, J. H., 128, 386

I.

Ibbetson, Sir Denzil, 387
Ibn Arabi, 295
Abn Khaldun, 342, 465
Idols, 222
Ilango Adigal, 220
Indian History, periodization, 19-24
Indra, 100, 202, 206, 268-69
—and Lakshmi, 158
—and Ushas, 166
Indusian (Indus Valley) Civilization, 22, 153-75
—Origins, 153-54
—Life Course, 155-56
—A Society of Priest-Technicians, 156-58
—Water cults, 158
—Language of Rulers-Dravidian ? 159-66
—First Brahmans ? 160-62
—Caste & *jati,* 162-65
—Againse innovation, 165
—Religious tolerance and syncretism, 165-68
—*Yoga, tapasya, mnemonic methods, tantra, Sankhya,* 168-70

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

—Comparison with other Theo-Technocracies, 170-74
Iqbal, 340
Iqta, 331
Islam, doctrines of, 294-95, 299-302
Iyenger, K. R. Srinivasa, 116
Iyer, L. A. Ananthakrishna, 70

J.

Jagirdars, 332
Jahangir, 349, 353, 357
Jaibali, Pravahana, 257, 259
Jainism, 459-60
Jalal-ud-din, Shaikh, of Tabriz, 346
Jami, 248
Jan-i-Janan, Mirza Mazhar, 347, 360
Janaka of Mithila, 259
Jang, Salar, 355
Jats, 194, 273, 280, 328
Jayadeva, 371
Jayasi, Malik Muhammad, 344
Jayaswal, K. P., 20
Jettmar, Karl, 90
Jimenez, 247
Jindan, Rani, 411
Jnaneshwara, 371
John of the Cross, St., 247
Jumla, Mir, 366

K.

Kabir, 369-70
Kaikeyi, 200
Kaivarta rebellion, 197, 241
Kalhana, 231, 284-85
Kalidasa, 213, 219
Kali-varjya doctrine, 214
Kama, 268
Kamba,n 231
Kanakasabhai, V., 116
Kanishka, 23
Kanta-Bhava, 371
Kanauj, 196
Karanas, 285
Karim, A. K. Nazmul, 387
Karkhanas, 332
Karma doctrine, 204, 206, 213, 257-59
Karve, Irawati, 44, 70, 74, 111, 130, 138-39
Kashmir Shaivism (*Trika*), 229
Kashmiri literature, 361
Kassapa, Purana, 442
Kaul, Gen., B. N., 276
Kaur, Sada, 411
Kaushalya, 200
Kautilya, 190
Kaviraja, Krishnadasa, 375
Kayasthas, 194, 284-86
Kazi, Daulat, 359
Kenko, 249
Kenyon, Dame Kathleen, 51
Khafi Khan (Muhammad Hashim), 351, 401
Khalifa Rashidun, 200
Khalsa, 319
Khajuraho sculptures, 233
Khan, Saiyyid Ahmad, 340
Khan-i-Khanan, Abdur Rahim, 359
Khare, V. V., 407
Khatris, 194, 282
Khatun, Habba, 361
Khiyal, 355
Khojas, 346
Khomyakov, 248
Khusru, Amir, 350, 354, 358
Kipling, 466
Kireyevsky, 248
Klatt, Berthold, 52
Knorozov, Yuri, 159
Konarak sculptures, 234
Kosambi, D. D., 22, 122, 157, 160, 165, 185
Kramrisch, Stella, 451
Krishna, Vasudeva, 108, 200, 263-64, 266, 268-71
Krishnaswami, V. D., 114
Kroeber, A. L., 34, 54, 284
Kshatra-bandhus, 190
Kshatriyas and Brahmans, 178
Kufw, 334
Kumarajiva, 450
Kumari, Lal, 355
Kunti, 110-12
Kushans, 440
Kutsa, 101
Kybele, 268

L.

La bida fils Islam—no innovation in Islam, 321
Lahori, Abdul Hamid, 351
Lakshmi, 158
—and Indra, 158

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Lal, B. B., 42, 44, 61, 83, 107, 109, 115, 122
Lalla Didi or Lal Ded, 361
Lambrick, 100
Language of Indian Food Gatherers, 41-2
Language and Race not synonymous, 140-41
Languages of India, 133-41
—Munda survivals and past extent, 135-36
—Dravidian survivals and past extent, 136-41
Languages, Indo-European, 86
Lassen, Christian, 19
Latif, Shah Abdul, 361
Legacies
—Food Gatherers, 42, 149
—Advanced Hunters, 149
—Matrifocal Agriculturists, 149
—Early Technologists, 149
—Warrior Nomads, 149-50
—Indus Valley, 174-75
—Aryo-Indian Theo-Aristocratic, 188-278
—Muslim-Indian Theo-Aristocratic, 362-66
—Buddhist Theo-Mercantile, 456-59
Li Kuang Li, 244
Linguistic-cum-Racial History of India, 141-44
Lips, Julius E., 6
Literature
—Assamese, 378
—Bengali, 378-79, 381-82
—Hindi/Rajasthani, 379-80
—Gujarati/Rajasthani, 380-81
—Oriya, 380
—Marathi, 380-81
—Punjabi, 381
——Telugu, 395
—Kannada, 395-96
—Malayalam, 395-96
Livy, 247
Lodi, Ibrahim, 330
Lohana Rajputs, 346

M.

Macfarlane, Miss E. W. E., 130
Mackay, Ernest, 22, 100
Madaris, 348
Madhava, 230, 283
Madhura bhava, 371
Magadha, sources of power, 189
Mahabharata, 25, 94, 109-10, 121-22, 180, 188, 213
—Bhargava editors, 111-12
Mahalingam, T. V., 180-181
Mahar, 273
Mahinda, 446
Mahishasura and Durga, 165-66
Majumdar, D. N., 130
Mal, Arani, 361
Mal, Todar, 332
Malik, S. C., 56, 59, 153, 182
Maneri, Sheikh Yahya, 340
Manrique, 389
Manu, 193, 211, 214, 218, 284
Mapillas (Moplahs), 302
Maratha, 273, 323
Maratha Assertion,
—Life Course, 398-400
—Configurational Dynamics, 400-02
—Values and Institutions, 402-5
—Utter neglect of science and technology, 405-6
—Not a Hindu *pad-padshahi,* 406
—Anti-Mughal, but not anti-Muslim, 406-7
—A Theo-Aristocratic, not a progressive assertion, 407-8
Marathi and Dravidian, 138
Marshall, Sir John, 22, 100
Matrifocal Agriculturists, 12, 21, 56-77, 147
—Woman's pre-eminence, 63-70
—In ancient Indian literature, 70
—In present-day India, 70-3
—Submerged culture elements in patriarchal India, 73-5
—Survivals in religion, 75-6
—Legacy in India compared with those in Japan and West Europe, 76-7
Mattizawa, 100
Mavali, 293
Maurya, Chandragupta, 90
Maya doctrine, 206, 262-63
Mead, Margaret, 50, 63
Meenakshi, 232, 273, 283
Megasthenes, 91
Mehta, Narsi, 372

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Meluhha, 159
Menander, 452
Messiah, 271-72
Mill, James, 19
Millet, 240, 309
Mineral resources, 26-7
Mira Bai, 372
Mitford, Nancy, 207
Mitra, 100
Moggallana, 444
Monserrate, 389
Mookerjee, R. K., 20
Moreland, W. H. 390
Mrinmayam griham, 114
Mudabbar, Fakhr-i-, 329
Mueller, Max, 121
Mughal architecture, 355-57
Mughal dress, 365
Mughal etiquette and manners, 365-66
Mughal food,
Mughal gardening, 355
Mughal miniatures, 352-53
Mughal victories, reasons for, 326-31
Mughalised social groups, 335, 388
Muhammad, Prophet, 289
Muhammad-bin-Qasim, 302
Muhammad, Nur, 360
Muhammad, Shaikh, of Jaunpur, 339
Mujarrad, Shaikh Jalal, of Sylhet, 346
Mujeeb, M., 343, 351, 360
Mukhia, Harbans, 327, 384
Munda, 26, 35, 41, 82, 113, 115, 179-82, 267
Murasaki, Lady, 249
Muslim-Indian class division, 332-85

N.

Nabhaji, 375
Nachiketa, 260
Nachchinarkkiniyar, 116
Nadir Shah, 325, 401
Nadkarni, R. V., 406
Nagar Brahmans,
Nagarjuna, 262, 458
Nagas, 180-82
Nagasena, 452
Nanda, Gulshan, 7
Nahusha, 268
Nanak, Guru, 273, 410-18
Namadeva, 371
Naqvi, Hameeda Khatoon, 326
Narayana, 268
Narayana Guru, 272
New Ground—Kashmir, Bengal, Central India, Deccan, the South, 194, 207, 214, 229
Nichakshu, 108
Nigama and *Agama,* 169-70
Nimbarka, 372
Nivedita, Sister, 169
Niyogi Brahmans, 285
Nizam-ul-Mulk, 320
Nizami, 248
Nizami, K. A., 343
Nobunaga, 245
Nomads, Pastoral, Warrior, 13-4, 21, 85-120, 148
—Forays of, East to West and North to South Movements, 85-92
—Bronze Age Aryans of the *Rig Veda,* 98-106
—Iron-using Aryans, the Pandavas, 106-12
—Dravidian-speaking, 112-17
—Relative smallness of numbers of Warrior invaders of India, 117-20
Nuniz, 394
Nurjahan—Jahangir, 332, 338

O.

Orme, 401
Overlapping Stages in a Society, 17
Ovid, 247

P.

Palakapya, 200
Palas, 196
Paleolithic, 12
Pallavas of Kanchi, 195, 283
Pan Chao, 249
Pan Ku, 249
Pandavas and Panchalas, 108-12
Pandit, Ramai, 343
Panikkar, K. M., 25
Panini, 207

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Panjika or calendar, 193, 200
Parasnis, D. B., 407
Pasenadi of Kosala, 90
Pelsaert, 364
Perrin, Alice, 466
Perry, 246
Persian language, its role in India, 362
Phule, Jyotiba, 145
Piggott, Stuart, 53, 157
Pirates, 90
—Philistines, 90
—Vikings, 90
Pliny, 439
Pollution idea, 162
Polynesians, 91
Prabhus, C. K., 285
Prabhu, Nil, 403
Prakash, Buddha, 108, 118-19
Prakash, Om, 457
Pratiharas, 196-97
Priest-Engineers, 153-75
Przyluski, Jean, 70, 135-37, 142
Pugachev, 240, 244
Pulleyblank, E. G., 123
Punjabi literature, 360-61
Puranas, 106 109, 158, 188, 213, 218, 250, 270-71, 277-78.
Purdah or veil, 335-36

Q.

Qalams, Delhi, Jaipur, Kangra, 353
Qawwali, 354, 363
Qureshi, I. H., 305

R.

Race—Ecological basis, 125-28
Races in India, 128
Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli, 266
Raidas, 370
Raikes, 100
Raiyeh (flock), 240
Rajagriha Buddhist Council, 445
Rajputs, 194, 280-81
—Rajput miniatures, 363-64
Rajwade, V. K., 407
Rama, 200, 212
Ramachadran, T. N. 160
Ramanand, 369
Ramanuja, 227-28, 250-272
Ramayana, 25, 70, 94, 188, 212, 218, 250, 277-78.
Ramdas, Guru, 24, 273, 371, 405
Ranade, M. G., 401
Rangila, Muhammad Shah, 355
Rani Bai, 303
Rao, B. Subha, 33
Rao, S. R., 138
Ras Leela, 382
Rashtrakutas, 196
Rasputin, 243
Rational Mercantiledom (Bourgeois), 16
Ravana, 268
Raychaudhuri, H. C., 20, 118
Ray Chaudhuri, Tapan, 390
Rayya, Krishna Deva, 395
Razin, Stenka, 240
Raziyya, 333
Red Eyebrows, 240
Redfield, Robert, 154
Religious ideas and practices of the Indus Valley—*Yoga, tapasya,* mnemonic methods, *tantra, Sankhya,* 168-70
Religious tolerance and Syncretism in the Indus Valley, 165, 68
Rijisvan, 101
Risley, H. H., 128
Roe, Sir Thomas, 338
Rowlands, Helene, 74
Rumi, Jalal-ud-din, 248
Rumis, 324

S.

Saadi, 248
Sahasranana, 268
Salima, Sultana, 350
Samantas, 195
Sambar, 101
Samudra Gupta, 26
Samurai, 241
Sanat Kumara, 260
Sanga, Rana 330
Sanghamitra, 446
Sankalia, H. D., 33, 44, 181, 234
Sankhya, 170, 262
Sanskrit, 218
"Sanskritisation" 195
Sarasin, 45

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Sarasvati, 158
—and Brahma, 158
Sardesai, G. S., 398, 407
Sargon, of Akkad, 159
Sariputta, 444
Sarkar, Benoy Kumar, 345
Sarkar, Sir Jadu Nath, 338, 364
Sarma, D. S., 367
Sarma, I. Kartikeya, 57
Sastri, Hara prasad, 377
Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, 227
Sattan, of Madurai, 452
Satyapir cult, 347
Sawaran-i-muqatala, 328
Sayana, 395
Schaeffer, Claude, 106
Schrader, 142
Science, decline of, 324, 405-06
Scientific, Democratic, 16
Scotus, John, 247
Scripts, 218
Sculpture, 221-22
Sei, Shonagon, Lady, 249
Seligman, 45
Sen, Ramprasad, 373
Sen, S. N., 401
Shah, Husain, 346
Shah, Jahandar, 355
Shah, Nusrat, 346
Shah, Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb, 360
Shah, Sher, 325, 332
Shah, Waris, 361
Shahjahan, 24, 318, 323, 349
Shakta doctrine, to Indus Valley times, 169
Shakti, 267-71
Shalihotra, 200
Shandilya, 260
Shangam,
—Age, 194
—Literature, 116-17, 220
Shankara, 226, 250, 263, 267-71, 272, 283, 458-59
Sharma, R. S., 187, 224
Sharqi, Kings of Jaunpur, 354
Shastri, K. N., 160
Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 276
Shinto, 245
Shiva, 267-71
Shivaji, 24, 341, 371, 398-408
Shudraka, 220
Shudras, 205, 208-9, 211-17
Shuja, 354
Shustery, A. M. A., 305
Sigiriya, 453
Sikh, Theo-Aristocratic
—Life-course, 409-12
—Configurational Dynamics, 412
—Values and Institutions, 413-18
—No Sikh-Muslim but basically Sikh-Mughal confrontation, 418-19
—A separate, feudal, sub-civilization, 419
—Ranjit Singh's state not a Punjabi subah, 419-20
—The weakness of the Theo-Aristocratic Sikh Civilization/Its constrictions, 420
—Why was Sikhism restricted mainly to the Punjab, 432-33
Sinan, 311
Singer, Milton, 153
Singh, B. P., 57
Singh, Jai, 341
Singh, Jaswant of Marwar, 341
Singh, Khushwant, 280
Singh, Rana Pratap, 317
Singh, Ranjit, 411-20
Sinha, H. N., 404
Siraj, Siraj-ud-din, 360
Six Systems of Philosophy, 217
Skandagupta, 379
Smith, Vincent, 19
Smail, R. C. 327
Smart, Ninian, 262
Soma cult, 202
Somadeva, 230
Soundara Rajan, K. V., 58
Spate, O. H. K., 273, 400
Stage Jumping, 17-8
Srinivas, M. N., 195
Ssu-ma Chien, 249
Stage jumping, 17-8
Stein, Sir Aurel, 114
Stern, Philippe, 451
Stimulus diffusion, 54
Study, Methods of, 9-11
Sub-Regions of India, 28
Subrahmanian, N., 116
Sufis, 301-2, 343-46, 374-75
Sugandha, 196
Sukthankar, V. S., 110

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Sultan, Sayyid, 359
Sultanates, Deccan, 391-92
Summer, W. G., 6
Suppiluliumas, 100
Suras and *Asuras,* 105-06
Surdas, 372
Sushruta, 210
Susna, 100
Suttee, 223
Syncretisation, 208, 217, 269-71, 283, 458

T.

Tahmasp, Shah of Iran, 323
Takshashila (Taxila), 109, 188, 204, 207
Tansen, 354
Tantra, 273-74
Tantric cults, 229-30
Taqiyah doctrine, 301, 305
Tara Bai, 319
Taranath, Lama, 383
Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, 22, 34
Tayumanavar, 373
Technologists, Early, 13, 21, 78-84, 147-48
—Weakness in India, 80-3
—Comparison with West Europe, 83-4
Temple architecture, 221-23, 231-34
Tengalai, 283
Terence, 247
Terpander, 246
Terry, 324, 364, 389
Thakur, 281
Thakur, Qureshi Magan, 359
Thakur, Upendra, 281
Thakur, Vidyapati, 372
Thapar, B. K., 122
Thapar, Romila, 19, 116, 154, 159, 163-64, 182, 185, 195, 196, 215, 227, 324, 451, 460
Theo-Aristocracies ("Feudal"), 15
Theo-Aristocratic,
—Aryo-Indian (1000 B. C. to 1200 A.D.), 186-236
—Comparison of the Aryan Indian with other Thei-Aristocratic Societies, 184, 236-52
—Comparison of the Aryo-Indian with the Scientific Democratic (Stage 10), 252-56
—Comparison of Aryo-Hindu, Turko-Mughal and Sikh Theo-Aristocracies and with the Scientific-Democratic, 421-431
—Muslim-Indian, 287-390
—Sikh-Indian, 409-433
—Turko-Persian Muslim, 306-17
Theo-Mercantile Buddhist Society
—Origins and Life Course. 434-35
—Configurational Dynamics, 435-36
—Values and Achievements—*Hinayana, Mahayana* and other sects, 436-454
—Absorption of Buddhism by Hinduism, its disappearance as such, 454-56
—Legacies
(a) Injunctions against cow-slaughter, 456-57
(b) Teetotalism, 457
(c) Vegetarianism, 457
(d) Shankara's borrowings, 458 from Mahayana Buddhists, 456-59
—Comparison of the Pauranic Hindu Theo-Aristocratic, Buddhist Theo-Mercantile and Arabo-Persian Theo-Mercantile, 460-65
—Nearer to Scientific-Democratic than to Theo-Aristocratic, 466-67
Theo-Mercantiledom, 16
Theo-Technocracy, 15
Theo-Technocrats (Indus Valley Civilization), 154-75
—Brahman Rulers, 162
Theresa, of Avila, St., 247
Thompson, E. J., 476
Thrupp, Sylvia, 271
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, 132
Timur, 322
Todd, K. R. U., 44
Tolstov, S. P., 142
Tolstoy, 248

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Toynbee, Arnold J., 36, 61, 182
Trasadasyu, 101
Tri-bhanga pose, 451, 453
Trika (Kashmir Shaivism), 229
Trimurti, 167-68
Tsurayuki, 249
Tukaram, 371
Tulsidas, 71
Turk Sawars, 327
Turkish victories, reasons for, 326-31
Turushkadanda, 197
Twain, Mark, 78
Tyrtaeus, 246

U.

Udayana, 190
Ulema, 334, 337
—*i-akhirat,* 216
—*i-duniya,* 216
Umayyads, 200, 464
Upali, 445
Upanishads, 206, 259-62
Ushas and Indra, 166
Uttarpath, 434
Uxbond, 142

V.

Vadagalai or *Vadamars,* 283
Vaishali Buddhist Council, 445
Varanasi, 207
Varna,
—Scheme not applicable to Kashmir, Bengal, the Deccan and the South, 194, 201, 214-15
Varnasamkara doctrine, 214
Varuna, 100, 105
Vasavadatta, 190
Vats, M. S., 99
Vatsayayana, 220
Vavilov, 52
Velalars and *Velirs,* 116
Vidyaranya, Madhava, 395
Vijaynagar, 393-97
Vikkings, 90
Virgil, 247
Vishnu, 267-71
Voevodski, 64

W.

Wagle, N. G., 182
Wahhabi, 294
Wali of Aurangabad, 360
Waliullah, Shah, 342-43
Wang Hiuen-Tse, 24
Wheeler, R. E. Mortimer, 22, 57, 82, 100, 103, 112, 114, 117
White, Lynn, 327
Woolf, Leonard, 466

X.

Xavier, St. Francis, 247

Y.

Yadavas, 105, 118, 179
Yajnavalkya, 257-58, 456
Yakut, Baba of Kelsi, 407
Yama, 260
Yaska, 207
Yellow Turbans, 240
Yeni cheri, 239

Z.

Zafar, Bahadur Shah, 349
Zeuner, 52

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai